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THE MAKERS OF CANADA

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VOL. I

SIR CHARLES TUPPER

PARKMAN EDITION

Charles Tupper

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THE MAKERS OF CANADA

SIR CHARLES TUPPER

BY

ames ilberforce
HON. J. W. LONGLEY

PARKMAN EDITION

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PUBLISHERS' NOTE

When Sir Charles Tupper retired from public life fifteen years ago, his work as a maker of Canada was practically over, and it was then decided to add his life to the *Makers of Canada* Series, which already contained lives of his contemporaries—Macdonald, Howe, Brown, Cartier, and Tilley.

It was arranged at that time that the biography should be written by the Honourable J. W. Longley, the author of *Joseph Howe* in this Series, whose knowledge of public affairs in Nova Scotia during the whole of Tupper's career is perhaps unequalled, and who for many years was an intimate personal friend of Sir Charles. The fact that this biography was being written by Judge Longley was known to Sir Charles, who, while the work was in progress, freely talked with the author on several occasions regarding different details of his public life.

Practically the whole of this book, except the last chapter, was completed several years ago. Since the death of Sir Charles, most of the last chapter has been written, and the whole work has been carefully revised and a certain number of corrections and additions have been made.

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CHAPTER I

EARLY LIFE (1821-1855)

ON the 2nd of July, 1821, there was born in Amherst, Nova Scotia, a man-child who, in the fulness of time, was to play a principal rôle in the making of the Dominion of Canada and in shaping its policy. This child was Charles Tupper, who, as Sir Charles Tupper, Bart., on October 30th, 1915, in his ninety-fifth year, was to die at "The Mount", Bexley Heath, Kent, almost within sight of London, the great throbbing heart of the British Empire, where for many years he had been an active force in promoting the best interests of Canada.

The Tupper family is of German extraction. During the Reformation wave that swept over Europe in the early years of the sixteenth century a family of Tuppers residing in Cassel in the electorate of Hesse joined the new movement, and, about 1525, two of the brothers, to escape the harsh laws instituted against the Reformers by Charles V, fled from their native land. One of these men settled in Holland, where his descendants still live; the other went to England and took up his abode in Kent, in which county, as we have seen, one of the most illustrious of his name died nearly four hundred years later. It is worthy of passing note that about 1592 one of the Kent Tuppers settled in the island of Guernsey. From this family sprang many distinguished British soldiers and sailors. One of the Guernsey family, John E. Tupper, married Elizabeth Brock, sister of Sir Isaac Brock, the hero of Upper Canada, the general whose skill and energy saved Canada in the most critical period of her history.

The Tupper name first appeared in American history in 1635, when Thomas Tupper arrived in the colony of Massachusetts. Why he left England is not definitely known, but at this time Charles I was, with the help of the Earl of Strafford and Archbishop Laud, playing the part of an absolute monarch, and it may be that the reason that impelled the Tuppers to leave Hesse caused Thomas to emigrate to America—liberty of conscience. Thomas Tupper at once took a prominent part in the life of Massachusetts. In 1637 his name appears as one of the incorporators of the town of Sandwich and he was appointed one of the selectmen of the place. He was of a deeply religious nature, and when the church in Sandwich was without a pastor he conducted the services. But his chief care was for the Indians, living in spiritual darkness and savagery. He succeeded in establishing an Indian congregation at Herring Pond and built the aborigines a place of worship. Until the eve of the American Revolution the Tuppers laboured for the welfare of their adopted country. The missionary spirit seems to have taken root in the family. A number of them were evangelists in the New England colonies, and, as we shall see, the family continued similar work when they settled in Nova Scotia.

About the middle of the eighteenth century many of the colonists along the Atlantic seaboard desirous of bettering their lot looked about them for new homes. The lure of the West attracted many, but in 1763 the Pontiac war was in full swing and settlers venturing beyond the Alleghanies took their lives in their hands. At this time a new field for settlement was open, an attractive field. In it there was no Indian menace and it abounded in rich marsh lands dyked from the sea and fertile uplands from which the forests had been cleared. This land was old Acadia, now Nova Scotia. The French Neutrals who had lived here since the days of the founding of Port Royal (Annapolis) had been driven into exile less than ten years before. Much of their land was still unoccupied and the Government of Nova Scotia extended liberal offers to settlers from New England and elsewhere. Many families from Massachusetts and Connecticut took advantage of these offers. Among those who came to Nova Scotia in 1763 and settled in Cornwallis were Eliakim Tupper and William and Jane West. This Eliakim Tupper was the great grandfather of the subject of this memoir, while Elizabeth, daughter of the Wests, a woman of remarkable talent and exceptional strength of character, who married Eliakim's son Charles, was the grandmother. Thus through both grandparents Sir Charles Tupper was of pronounced Puritan stock.

The Nova Scotia Tuppers, while plain farmers, were men of remarkable firmness of character. Charles, the father of Sir Charles, early displayed a zeal for learning. No school was available in his vicinity except for the mere elementary branches of learning, and so young Charles was forced to educate himself. Very few young men have energy, patience, and perseverance to attain to scholarship without assistance amid the exacting duties of farm life in a somewhat out-of-the-way locality. One striking exception was Charles Tupper. He was not content to acquire simply the rudiments of reading, writing, arithmetic, and geography; he boldly attacked the Latin language, and at nineteen was able to read it much better than most college graduates ever do. He next devoted himself to Greek, and persevered until he could read the New Testament in the original. He also read the whole of the Old Testament in the original Hebrew, a thing few theological students ever accomplish. After these prodigies of self-teaching he found it but a mere bagatelle to acquire familiarity with French, German, and Italian. When, in later years, Acadia College was founded by the Baptists of Nova Scotia with his active assistance, and men of learning, such as Drs. Pryor, Crawley, Cramp, and others were obtained to fill its professorial chairs, it was recognized that in scholarship none surpassed him, though he had never had a tutor or studied an hour within the walls of a university.

When Charles Tupper the elder was twenty he was converted—that is, he felt a conviction of sin, experienced a change of heart, and became a professing Christian. His religious experience had been intense and he had long struggled with doubts and difficulties, but once he had made an absolute surrender of his life to Christ he was seized with a desire to proclaim the Gospel. In March, 1816, when twenty-one, he preached his first sermon, and a few months later began his labours as an Evangelist, not so much in Cornwallis, where he was born and reared, as in eastern Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island. Amherst was one of the places at which he was stationed; here, for a time, he resided with his first wife, formerly Mrs. Miriam Lockhart Lowe, of Parrsboro, Nova Scotia, and here his eldest son Charles was born.

Many of the qualities of the father were inherited by his still more eminent son—doggedness, a methodical manner of thinking and acting, and seriousness and gravity in respect of all duties imposed upon him. His father's income was not large and he had difficulty in contributing to the education of his children beyond the public school course. But he was ambitious for his children and wrote in his journal: "Having decided on mature deliberation to give my son Charles an education in order that he might be prepared to enter the medical profession, on August 1st, 1837, I sent him to our educational institution at Wolfville." Young Charles, equally desirous of obtaining a higher education, had qualified himself for a school teacher, and with what assistance his father could give him and a small sum obtained by teaching, began his studies at Horton Academy, Wolfville. Here according to tradition he eked out his scanty means by work at a shoemaker's bench. He did not enter college or receive the advantages of a university course, but he acquired sufficient knowledge to begin the study of medicine, and, being ambitious in this as in all matters in which he was engaged, he obtained the means to go to Edinburgh and finish his studies in the university there, taking the degree of M.D. and becoming a Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons. Much gossip prevailed at this time as to the manner of his obtaining the means for this Edinburgh course. It was hinted that he had engaged the affections of a young lady in Amherst and, under a promise of marriage, received from her the money necessary to pursue his medical studies in Edinburgh, but that after his return to Nova Scotia he declined to fulfil his engagement. The means of ascertaining the exact inner history of this affair are not available. All that is known is that after he occupied a seat in the Legislature some member ventured to make an insinuation about it. Dr. Tupper promptly declared the imputation a foul slander, affirmed that the money had been advanced by personal friends and that it was promptly repaid. He challenged his accuser to make good his insinuations or stand branded as a slanderer and a coward. Soon after his return from Edinburgh he began the practice of his profession at Amherst, and, on October 8th, 1846, married Miss Frances Amelia Morse, the daughter of Silas H. Morse, Prothonotary of Amherst. Their golden wedding was celebrated in Ottawa in 1896, not long after the defeat of Sir Charles' Government in that year.

As was to be expected of a man of his ability, force, and ambition, Dr. Tupper was eminently successful in his profession. Amherst was not then the flourishing town it has since become, but it was the centre of a fine agricultural district, the shire town of the county, and a place of some importance. In Amherst Dr. Tupper commanded public confidence from the beginning and, by his skill and devotion, soon built up a large practice.

In the early part of Mr. Joseph Howe's famous crusade for responsible government most of the Baptists of Nova Scotia were in sympathy with his endeavours and warm adherents to his cause. But he had the misfortune to quarrel with the editors and proprietors of the Baptist organ, the *Christian Messenger*, upon some business matters, and, as Howe was a relentless opponent, and not able to brook opposition, the fight became acute and bitter, and alienated many Baptists from the Liberal cause. His chief Conservative opponent, the Hon. J. W. Johnstone, was a leading Baptist, and this added fuel to the flame. The Rev. Dr. Tupper was not in political sympathy with Howe, but the reverse, and young Tupper's sympathies from the beginning were with the Conservative party and actively hostile to Howe. It is a common statement that Tupper was dragged into the political arena in 1855 against his own inclinations. This is scarcely accurate. It is quite true that active participation in political affairs was likely to interfere seriously with his well established medical practice, and he had no other financial resources upon which to rely; but it is impossible to believe that a man so virile and ambitious should not have been possessed of a strong impulse to seek in public life a sphere for his large aims, and, as a matter of fact, he had been an active spirit in the Conservative party years before he actually became a candidate for the Legislative Assembly.

Since his entry into public life in 1836, Howe had represented Halifax, but in 1851 it was deemed a safe seat and was now left to other hands. Cumberland was doubtful and Howe sought election in this constituency. However, there was a compromise, and Howe and Stephen Fulton, the latter ostensibly a Conservative, were elected by acclamation. But it appeared after the election that Fulton had agreed to support Howe. The Conservatives were up in arms. It was discovered that the statute law had not been complied with in the Howe-Fulton election and it was declared void. A new election was necessary and in 1852 Howe and Fulton stood in the Liberal interests. This time they encountered bitter opposition, their opponents being Mr. A. Macfarlane and Mr. Thomas Andrew DeWolfe.

When DeWolfe arrived in his constituency from Halifax, Dr. Tupper met him and in a little schoolhouse at River Philip made his first political speech. From that hour he was a marked man and it was evidently only a matter of time until he would take a commanding place among the leaders of the Conservative party in Nova Scotia. Indeed he jumped into prominence at once. So impressive was his first political effort that the Conservatives of Cumberland selected their "Young Doctor", as he was then affectionately called, to nominate Mr. DeWolfe at Amherst, and at the nomination he crossed swords for the first time with the redoubtable "Joe" Howe. Howe and Fulton were successful at the election but Tupper's efforts to defeat them gave him a standing in the Conservative ranks. He was on the losing side for the time being, but he even then steeled his will to vanquish Howe.

Dr. Tupper's profession brought him into intimate contact with the electors of Cumberland, and between the by-election of 1852 and the general election of 1855, while industriously riding hither and thither through the county ministering to the suffering, he made a host of political friends. His popularity and the strength and political insight he had shown in his passage-at-arms with Howe in 1852 made him the unanimous choice of the Conservatives of Cumberland in 1855. Indeed there was no other candidate in sight, and if he had refused to accept the nomination Howe would in all probability have been elected by acclamation. Tupper unhesitatingly consented to contest the seat and fearlessly prepared to do battle with the popular hero of Nova Scotia. The prospect of success was not bright. An ordinary man would have been defeated. Howe was at the zenith of his power, and was at this time pushing forward a railway policy that would extend a road through the whole length of Cumberland county. But the appearance of a resolute man has often changed the course of history. Tupper threw himself into the contest and revolutionized the political situation in Cumberland by his enthusiasm and vigour—qualities which friend and foe alike will recognize as having marked his political career until its close. In this election Howe and Fulton were the Liberal candidates; Tupper and Macfarlane, the Conservative. But in the contest Fulton and Macfarlane played minor parts; the real struggle was between Howe and Tupper, and the great Tribune of the People of Nova Scotia found in the "Young Doctor", who in this contest won the sobriquet of the "Fighting Doctor", a keen political critic and a foeman not easily vanquished. When the returns of the election came in it was found that the Conservatives were hopelessly beaten in the Province, but that Howe and Fulton had suffered defeat in Cumberland. It was universally recognized that this local success at a time of general defeat was entirely due to Dr. Tupper—a success that augured well for the future. Howe himself admitted it, and on his return to Halifax, being questioned as to the man who had defeated him, he replied that Nova Scotia would soon find out that "he had been defeated by the leader of the Conservative party"; a prophecy that was to have swift fulfilment. Johnstone, the Conservative leader, likewise attributed the successful issue of the election in Cumberland to Tupper. "I congratulate you," he wrote, "and sympathize with your wife in your triumph. Howe, I hear, concurs with all others in giving credit to your ability in the field in the various pitched battles and skirmishes that occurred during the short but active campaign that preceded the 22nd." Johnstone was evidently of the opinion that "Howe's political life, at least his legislative existence," had been extinguished by Tupper. "Howe," he added, "may live on, but a defeat like that he has suffered affects his prestige as a man of the people in a way not to be restored."

It will be noted that Johnstone in his letter to Tupper expressed sympathy with the doctor's wife in his triumph. Mrs. Tupper was at first opposed to her husband entering on active political life. She no doubt dreaded that party warfare would put an end to the delightful home life she and her family were at this time enjoying in the quiet town of Amherst. But she took pride in her husband's achievements, and on nomination day, when the candidates were addressing the electors, she stood at a window and listened with delight to the speeches. Naturally in her eyes her husband was the equal of the great Howe. She became infected with his political aspirations and on his return from the meeting, which had lasted until sunset, lovingly remarked: "I do not want you to draw back now." Throughout their long life together this was ever her attitude; she stood by her husband rejoicing with him in victory, sustaining him in adversity, and was never by word or deed a clog on his career.

CHAPTER II

IN THE LEGISLATURE (1855-1864)

IN 1855 the Tory party in Nova Scotia was not in a very healthy or promising condition. Johnstone was the leader and about the only man of that party of note in the House. He represented a cause that had been decisively beaten in 1847, and the Liberals ever since had been revelling in the fruits of their triumphant assertion of the principles of Responsible Government. They had Joseph Howe, William Young, A. G. Archibald, Jonathan McCully, William Annand, and others, all active and adroit politicians. Johnstone was a man of good birth, education, aristocratic tastes, marked eloquence, and lofty ideals, but he was scarcely a match for the group of accomplished politicians arrayed against him. He had not the instincts of the practical politician, nor could he easily adapt himself to the rough and tumble of everyday political work. He rested his hopes of success upon great principles enunciated in lofty phrases and well-rounded periods.

The advent of Tupper marked the dawn of a new era in the history of the Tory party in his Province. His first session in the Legislature was in 1856, and, from the beginning, he threw such vigour into his assaults upon the Government that his political friends took fresh heart and his opponents were imbued with a spirit of bitter hatred. They dreaded the fierce and inexorable rhetoric of the young member for Cumberland and began to belabour him with vituperation and ridicule; but this had slight effect upon the doughty Tupper, who, even at eighty, revelled in a political fight, and at this time, only thirty-four years of age, with his spurs to win, rushed with joy into the thickest of the contest and never thought of asking or giving quarter. Mr. Johnstone showed no signs of jealousy at the advent of Tupper nor any disposition to stand in the way of his growing prominence; on the contrary, before the opening of the first session of the new Assembly of 1856, he called together his supporters and asked Dr. Tupper to express his views on the political situation, intimating that, owing to his own advancing years, he would gladly delegate to his young ally a large share of the responsibility of upholding and promoting the party interests.

A reference to the position of political affairs at that time in Nova Scotia is necessary. In 1854 Howe, who had been leading the Government for some time, voluntarily retired to accept the position of Chief Commissioner for the construction of the Government railway, a project he had much at heart and for which he had provided earlier in the same year. He recommended the Governor to call upon Mr. William Young, then

Speaker, to form a Government, and Young accepted, becoming Premier and Attorney-General. Although not in the Government, Howe continued to be a dominating political force. His office was an important one. He was still in the House. The *Morning Chronicle*, the organ of the Liberal party, was in the hands of Mr. William Annand, his close friend. Howe contested Cumberland in 1855 simply as a supporter of the Government, and when defeated continued to hold office as Chief Commissioner of Railways. This was the position of affairs when Tupper entered upon his parliamentary duties in February, 1856. The Government had been sustained, Young was leading, and Howe was not in the House—the only session from which he was absent between 1837 and 1864.

It has been a common belief, derived very largely from Dr. Tupper's own utterances, that his first step on entering public life was to induce his party to change their attitude towards the Roman Catholics of the Province, then, as now, representing nearly one-third of the population. This is not a strictly accurate way of stating the matter. Dr. Tupper came to Halifax with no thought of any change of policy towards the Roman Catholics. Events gave him his opportunity and he took advantage of it. At that particular moment the majority—but by no means all—of the Roman Catholic population were friends of Howe. Most of the Irish Catholics of Halifax had been his enthusiastic supporters in his great struggle for popular government, but, in the early part of 1856, no thought of bringing about a change of government upon any religious or sectarian issue had occurred to Tupper or to any one else. It happened that Howe had gone to the United States in the summer of 1855 as a recruiting agent for the Imperial Government, with the object of securing soldiers for the British army, then engaged in the Crimean war. He experienced many difficulties in this delicate mission, it being a violation of the law of the United States to enlist men in that country for a foreign service. Howe sought to avoid this by inducing recruits to go at his expense to Halifax for enrolment. Many Irish Catholics in Halifax were not in sympathy with the war and were disposed to obstruct all efforts to assist the British. Consequently, when Howe's recruits, many of whom were Irish Catholics, arrived in Halifax, the President of the Charitable Irish Society, Mr. William Condon, sent a telegram to the New York papers to the effect that Howe was inducing these men to go to Nova Scotia by promising them work on the railway, when there was no opportunity for work. The men, according to the telegram, were destitute. A general warning was further given to anyone who might be approached by Howe not to heed his promises. Howe was an ardent Imperialist and devoted to British interests. This seemed to him a most disloyal act, and his anger was roused by it. The next year, 1856, the Gourley Shanty Riots took place on the railway, when a number of Irish Catholics pulled down a house because the inmate was a Protestant, and made threats that no Protestant would be allowed to work on the road. Howe one day returned to Halifax from an unsuccessful attempt to get the ringleaders in this affair arrested, and attended a meeting called to present an address to Mr. John F. Crampton, the British Minister, who had just been summarily dismissed by the United States Government for his part in aiding foreign enlistment. At this meeting some Irish Catholics openly opposed the presentation and uttered words which savoured of hostility to British interests. This was the final act which roused Howe's indignation beyond the point of endurance. He sprang to his feet and made a bitter assault upon the Anti-British Irish Catholics, denouncing their treason and expressing his determination to check promptly their impudent presumption to dictate in the affairs of the railway. This led to a furious quarrel, which degenerated into a race and religious war between Howe and the Irish Catholic population.[1]

When the second session of the new parliament was about to meet in 1857 there was a movement among the Catholic members supporting the Government, and Protestants who represented constituencies having a large Catholic vote, to desert the Government and drive it from power. Before the House met two members of the administration had resigned, one of them, Mr. W. A. Henry, Provincial Secretary, himself a Protestant, but representing Antigonish, a strong Catholic constituency. Strictly speaking, the Government had no quarrel with the Catholics. It was essentially Howe's quarrel; but Howe loomed too large to permit the Government to escape the consequences of his action, except upon the terms of an open breach with him. To appease the malcontents it must dismiss him from the Railway Board and it must also cut off the head of Mr. Annand, the Queen's Printer, whose organ, the *Morning Chronicle*, was actively supporting Howe in his crusade. This it could not do, for Howe was a larger figure in the public mind and a more potent force in shaping the policy of the party than the Premier himself.

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[1] For this and other questions in which Howe and Tupper were concerned see *Joseph Howe*, by the same author, in this series.—Eds.

There was some indisposition on the part of Mr. Johnstone and other blue-blooded members of the Tory party to form an alliance with men whose characters and instincts they had long been disposed to reprobate. Mr. Johnstone himself was intensely loyal to Great Britain and could only view with indignation any disloyal reflections upon British policy. Therefore, he and some of his intimate friends doubted the wisdom of an open alliance with the Catholic party. This was the moment when Tupper's influence intervened and determined the policy of the party. Tupper said in effect: "What need we care how the downfall of the Government comes about so long as it places power in our hands? The support of the Roman Catholics of Nova Scotia is essential to us if we would obtain and maintain power. Let us take advantage of the occasion and thus build up a party which will have the means of becoming dominant in the country." This suggestion was welcomed by the rank and file of the Tory party and Johnstone yielded, though, in moving his resolution of want of confidence in the Government, on the first day of the session, he made not the slightest reference to any sectarian question. He asked for the defeat of the Government simply and solely on its failure in administering the affairs of the country. Howe had obtained a seat in Hants county in 1856, and being in his place in the House in 1857 he naturally bore the brunt of the battle, which was largely of his making. The result was never in doubt; the vote was a foregone conclusion. Enough supporters deserted the Government to ensure its defeat, and Mr. Johnstone's resolution was carried by a respectable majority. Mr. Young and his colleagues immediately resigned, and Mr. Johnstone formed a Government, himself Premier and Attorney-General, and Dr. Tupper, Provincial Secretary. The Liberals made a desperate effort to defeat Tupper at the by-election made necessary by his acceptance of office, but they were dealing with a man not easily downed, and he was re-elected.

A curious incident developed in the debate of 1857. It came out that before this young doctor from Cumberland had been fairly installed in his seat in 1856 he had had the calm assurance to approach Howe and propose a coalition, by which Young should be destroyed, Howe given the lead, and Johnstone provided for. Howe did not agree, but Tupper stated boldly upon the floor of the House that he had made the advances, and he did not hesitate to declare that Howe had listened and made references to Young not altogether complimentary, which is not improbable, for Howe never really liked Young, although long associated with him.

Tupper had now within two years of his election to the Legislature become a Minister at the head of one of the most important departments of the Government, and was recognized on all sides as a commanding figure in the councils of his party. Mr. Johnstone was an old man and could not long remain actively in the political field, while Dr. Tupper had no rivals for the succession. The Government did not last long. The general elections were due in 1859, and Howe, Young, and other Liberal leaders were active in their efforts to carry the country. Their chief ground of attack and the issue upon which the Government was to be defeated was, unfortunately, the Catholic question. A majority of the constituencies of Nova Scotia were preponderatingly Protestant, and the charge was freely made that the Government was under the influence of the Roman Church, that it had obtained office by the aid of the clergy of that Church and that its policy was dictated by the Hierarchy. It was an unfounded and unjust charge, and the open appeals to sectarian bigotry then made now seem almost grotesque.

A supreme object at this election was the defeat of Tupper in Cumberland. It was a Protestant county and in it the Liberal party was powerful. Mr. Young, the Liberal leader, was a wealthy man, and it was believed that by the power of money Tupper could be struck down. Young became a candidate, and associated with him were Howe's old colleague, Fulton, and Mr. Fullerton. Tupper's running mates were Mr. Alexander Macfarlane, afterwards a Senator of Canada, and Robert Donkin. At that period the election law was not stringent and petitions were tried by a partizan committee of the House, so that with Mr. Young supplying unlimited money, lending it to every one who needed it upon mortgage and other security, and prepared to relieve every man from obligation to Tory creditors, he could have been defeated only by a man of extraordinary courage and adroitness. But Tupper threw himself into the contest with indomitable energy and did not hesitate, though still a poor man, to exhaust all the means within his reach. The whole Province watched the contest with anxious interest. The prevailing impression after Young's candidacy was announced, was that the champion of the Tory party was doomed. The result was close. As the figures were originally announced, Young was first, Tupper a good second, Fullerton third, and Macfarlane fourth, but the Sheriff on declaration day declared Young, Tupper, and Macfarlane elected. In spite of all efforts against him, Tupper had not only secured his own seat, but had carried two seats out of the three for his party. Only once after this was Tupper closely pressed in Cumberland, which he continued to represent in either the Federal or Provincial House without interruption until 1884.

The Government was defeated, but only by a narrow majority. Out of fifty-five seats the Government carried twenty-six, the Opposition twenty-nine. The Government held on and refused to retire until forced to do so by a hostile vote in the House of Assembly in February, 1860. Young was called upon to form a government, and it is noticeable that he was careful not to accept any portfolio. He became Premier without office, Howe, Provincial Secretary, Archibald, Attorney-General, and Annand, Financial Secretary. The reason usually ascribed for Mr. Young not taking office was that with all his wealth, prestige, and power as First Minister, he dreaded to face a by-election in Cumberland. Nothing could be more certain than that Tupper would put an Opposition candidate in the field and contest every inch of the ground with relentless persistence. Soon after the election the office of Chief Justice became vacant, and Young accepted the position. The Chief Justiceship had been one of the prizes fought for in this election. If the Government won, it would fall to Johnstone; if defeated, the prize was Young's. Howe became Premier, and Tupper, under the nominal leadership of Johnstone, gave for over three years an exhibition of vigorous and implacable opposition. Scarcely a day passed without a fresh attack from him. The Government never had a moment's rest or peace. Dr. Tupper had removed to Halifax on entering the Government, and when compelled to resign he resumed his medical profession. He soon had a lucrative practice and obtained from the City Council the position of City Medical Officer. In order to be in close touch with the public, he assumed the editorial management of the *British Colonist*, the chief organ of the Tory party, and from this paper issued fierce, trenchant, and damaging attacks upon the Government.

The construction of the provincial railway was taxing the financial resources of Nova Scotia and the outbreak of civil war in the United States had adversely affected the trade of the Province. As a result of these and other things the Government, in the session of 1862, found itself faced with a serious deficit. Dr. Tupper seized the opportunity to bring forward an elaborate retrenchment scheme whereby he proposed to effect an annual saving of about $70,000 by reducing salaries in all departments. The merit of the project, as a political factor, was that the sum was small. It is rarely that the electorate can be alarmed by millions. The whole cost to the Government of the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, vast as it was, which, added to the cost of the Intercolonial, aggregated scores of millions, disturbed nobody; but the story of some hundreds of dollars spent on cutlery and glassware in the High Commissioner's house in London appalled thousands of excellent people. In like manner, by taking $100 off an official's salary, which to the average householder seemed larger than necessary, a glow of satisfaction was generated in every simple breast. The present writer can well remember the terms of approved satisfaction with which this proposition was received by the country people, who were believers in the simple life. It came down to the ordinary understanding and constituted a really strong campaign issue.

It would be natural to expect that this retrenchment scheme would have confronted Dr. Tupper unpleasantly when a little later on he was called upon to face the responsibilities of office. In the session of 1864 the Opposition members did not fail to refer to the famous retrenchment proposals; and since the sums voted for expenditure were larger that session than usual, it was felt that a striking point was scored. But it did not seem to give any concern to Dr. Tupper. He waited until near the end of the session and took advantage of the debate on the Equity Judge Bill, which the Solicitor-General had introduced, to make a lengthy speech in which he referred to the several criticisms which had been made upon the Government's policy, and gave the following explanation and justification of his retrenchment proposals in 1862:

"The House knows very well that so far from having taken the ground in this House that the public officers were too highly paid and that I was anxious to reduce their emoluments, I stated that there was not a single public officer whom I touched in the retrenchment resolutions that I did not touch with the greatest reluctance; and I went further and stated that the moment the financial condition of the country warranted it, I would have great pleasure in restoring their salaries as before. These were the principles to which I bound myself—the proposals which I made in good faith. How could I have stated that the salaries were too high when I declared in this House that the salary of my predecessor was one on which I had been myself unable to live? I demanded retrenchment in order to meet the great public exigencies, and that was a debt of £38,000 created in one year over and above the revenue of the country. I stated that in the existing condition of things, the country was not bound to look at what it would *like* to give its public officers, but what it was *able* to give."

At the last session of the Legislature in 1863, the Liberal Government introduced a Franchise Act requiring a small property qualification as a condition of voting. Previously, manhood suffrage had prevailed, and however much democracy may laud this system, it remains a fact that under it elections are sometimes determined by the votes of persons without property, character, or the slightest appreciation of the obligations of citizenship. The Government had only a narrow majority in the House, but sufficient to carry this measure. It had a majority of only one in the Legislative Council, but this was enough, inasmuch as each supporter had been carefully canvassed upon the franchise question and his support pledged. Tupper violently inveighed against this measure as shutting out from the exercise of the rights of citizenship young men of intelligence, including college students, teachers, and apprentices. He realized that he could not defeat the measure in the House, so he directed his attention to the Council. Mr. H. G. Pineo represented Cumberland in the Council and was, naturally, a supporter of Howe, but Tupper, who had now become a power in the country, was so far able to influence his mind as practically to make him subservient to his purpose. Mr. Pineo had promised to support the measure and could not be induced to vote against it. Tupper did not ask this, but persuaded him to support a rider providing that the Act should not come into operation *until after the next general election.* This was deemed a very adroit move on the part of Tupper, and it is to be noted that he was actively assisted in manipulating Mr. Pineo by Mr. Alfred G. Jones, then a prominent merchant and active Conservative, but destined very soon after to become Tupper's persistent opponent in Nova Scotia.

Another incident tended to embarrass the Government. Mr. Howe early in 1863 received an Imperial appointment—British Fishery Officer under the Treaty of 1854-66,—which weakened his position as leader of the Government. Tupper and the opponents of the Government urged that it was unconstitutional for Mr. Howe to sit in the House while holding this office. But this was not the view of the majority, and Mr. Howe determined to remain at the head of the Government until after the approaching general election, as his name and prestige were deemed essential to success. The Government faced this election with the gravest apprehension, as Tupper's agitation during these years had stirred up a strong feeling against the administration.

The elections were held in May, 1863, and resulted in the overwhelming defeat of the Government. It secured only fifteen seats out of fifty-five and Johnstone and Tupper were returned to power amid every token of popular favour. After the first session of 1864 a position on the Bench was provided for Mr. Johnstone, Tupper became Premier and had the reins in his hands. Most Canadians are familiar with his active and eminent career in the public life of the Dominion, but history will record the four years of his administration of the affairs of Nova Scotia as the greatest era in Tupper's life—an era in which he displayed the highest qualities and achieved the most striking personal success.

The question of common school education was at that moment imperatively demanding public attention. It would be unjust to say that education had been neglected in the Province. King's College at Windsor had been opened in 1790 by the Church of England, and Acadia College at Wolfville in 1840 by the Baptists. The Roman Catholics had established Arichat College, at Arichat, in 1853. This institution was transferred to Antigonish and established as St. Francis-

Xavier College in 1855. Pictou Academy was in full operation and a Normal school had been established at Truro in 1855 for the training of teachers. Grammar schools existed in leading centres and received special grants from the Government. There was a system of common schools under the control of Boards of School Commissioners for counties, or parts of counties, who had the power of creating school districts and giving licenses to teachers. But these common schools were voluntary. Any teacher proposing to establish a school generally had to canvass the district in advance and get parents to subscribe according to the number of children they were prepared to send. The school houses were below any reasonable standard of comfort or efficiency. Apparatus and equipment were wanting and the system of licensing teachers was unsatisfactory. There could not be a satisfactory system of common school education until free schools were established, supported by compulsory taxation, whereby all property holders paid their assessments for the support of schools, whether they were or were not blessed with children.

An effort had been made to introduce compulsory free schools as early as 1825, but the Government was afraid of the unpopularity which the imposing of direct taxation would incur, and the question was never again seriously dealt with until 1864. Mr. Howe was always the loyal champion of education and yearned for a free school system; and his speeches in Parliament and out of it had an educative influence upon the public; but, confronted with the great problems which surrounded the early part of his political career and compelled him to face a desperate struggle for existence, he never ventured to hazard the consequences of a taxation measure.

In 1850, Dr. J. W. Dawson, afterwards the Principal of McGill College, was appointed Superintendent of Education. He brought much energy into the discharge of his duties and was an open and persistent advocate of a free school system. Under his auspices, the Normal School was opened at Truro, and an able, enthusiastic, and forceful man, Rev. Alex. Forrester, was appointed Principal; upon Dr. Dawson's retirement in 1855, Dr. Forrester succeeded him as Superintendent of Education, retaining his duties at the school. He advocated the free school system as ardently as Dr. Dawson had done, while he possessed greater magnetism and was a more interesting and effective personality upon the platform.

Still politicians shrank from facing the danger of imposing a school tax, and nothing was done. The situation was very happily epitomized by Howe in a speech in the House of Assembly in 1855. He said:

"Mrs. Glass in her famous recipe says, 'First catch your fish,' and so he believed on this question that Providence had first to catch an enthusiast, young enough to carry this question to its final conclusion—one who had with the pleasing address and amiable manner of Mr. Dawson, the same enthusiasm—with a little more of the demagogue in his composition—to agitate the masses and go through the country beating the rough clods of the valley and getting something like vitality to spring up in the soil. The man might not be in the House now, but sure he was that such a man would be here before many years and that he would with a free and fearless heart rouse up the spirit of the people and sweep away the obstructions now remaining in the path of the general education of the people."

Was it the irony of fate that only three months after the uttering of these prophetic words, Howe should have been defeated by the very man who was to accomplish this great work?

When the Johnstone-Tupper Government was formed in 1863 (Mr. Howe's Government resigned soon after the elections), Dr. Tupper, forceful and ambitious, no doubt wished to do something unusual to mark the administration. Mr. Johnstone was soon to leave political life and the duty of moulding affairs naturally fell to Tupper. The railway question required serious attention, and a strong demand came from eastern Nova Scotia for an extension of the railway system eastward to Pictou. Since Howe had adopted the policy of building railways by the Government, the Conservative party, under Mr. Johnstone, had been steady opponents of Government railways and in favour of Company construction aided by provincial subventions. It is not necessary even to enquire which would have been the best policy. The demand for a railway to Pictou was immediate and imperative. Mr. James McDonald of Pictou was Chief Commissioner of Railways and influential in the Government councils. He insisted upon the extension to Pictou as a Government work. His proposal could hardly be accepted at once by Mr. Johnstone, who had talked too freely against Government railway construction, or even by his chief lieutenant, who was not so fully committed on this question. No one can know the proceedings of a Council Chamber, whose members are sworn to secrecy, but there was a persistent rumour that both Mr. Johnstone and Dr. Tupper opposed the immediate construction of the road to Pictou as a Government work, but that they were overborne by the other members of the Government and the policy of building the road as a public work was finally adopted. Be that as it may, Tupper made such a vigorous and enthusiastic defence of the policy in the House that no one would have suspected that he had had misgiving as to its wisdom.

But the uppermost question at this time was education, and with this Tupper determined to grapple at all hazards. If anything really useful and far-reaching could be done, it must be by the introduction of a system of free schools, supported by sectional taxation, aided by provincial and county grants. Dr. Tupper was profoundly convinced that this was the right thing to do. But it is necessary to consider the grave difficulties which confronted him.

1. There was the probability that such a measure would create bitter opposition to the Government in the country, and might result in its destruction. He had sufficient faith in himself to accept this risk, and was broad and big enough to see that the object to be attained was worth the hazard.

2. Having convinced himself on this point, his next difficulty was to induce not only his colleagues in the Government but also the average country member, whose ideas generally do not reach very far beyond the question of re-election, to join him in such a bold and dangerous undertaking. The ordinary member of a provincial Assembly is not heroic, nor has he any predilections in the direction of reform or even change. He instinctively dislikes whatever is disturbing. He knows the conditions under which he is now living and under which he has managed to secure success at the polls. As long as these remain, he can guage possibilities, but once introduce innovations and he finds it difficult to keep his bearings or measure the consequences. Those who knew Tupper in the

full vigour of manhood can form some estimate of his power to win the confidence of his followers and command their support, and in the end he was assured that he could carry his measure, though he had trouble enough in quieting the scruples and fears of the timid.

3. He proposed to make his public school system not only free but non-sectarian. Every teacher should receive his or her license from the Council of Public Instruction, the text-books should be prescribed by the same body, and no form of sectarian instruction should be permitted in any school. Religious orders were to have no status in any public school, and their members could only acquire the right to teach by passing the examinations and complying with the regulations of the Council of Public Instruction. This looks fair and just, but it must not be forgotten that one-third of the people of Nova Scotia were Roman Catholics, accustomed, under the free and easy practice then prevailing, to have their own schools in those sections in which Roman Catholics predominated conducted largely under the control of the clergy. In the city of Halifax, for example, to all intents and purposes, separate schools existed. The Protestant children were segregated in Protestant schools supported by Protestant parents. All the school buildings in which Roman Catholic children were taught had been built and were owned by the Archbishop; the schools were conducted by

members of religious orders, and imparting the tenets of the Roman Catholic faith was part of the daily work in the school room. It is a cherished conviction of the Roman Catholic Church that religious instruction should be given in the school. Dr. Tupper, therefore, had to confront not only the fears of his own supporters in the House, but the whole weight of the Roman Catholic Church, under the leadership of the able and popular Archbishop of Halifax, supported by the Bishop of the eastern Diocese of Arichat. The situation was a difficult one. The Archbishop owned the schools in Halifax, paid the teachers, received the Government grant, and collected from his own people the other revenues for their support. When the school law should come into operation, every Roman Catholic in Halifax would be subject to taxation for the support of common schools in the city. If he was to receive any advantage from these taxes, the schools which his children attended would have to be transferred from the Archbishop to the Board of School Commissioners, and the regulation and control of these schools to the Council of Public Instruction. It meant that before teachers of religious orders could be recognized they would have to pass examinations and obtain a license, and, what was more serious, special religious instruction in the school would have to be abandoned. If these steps were not taken, and the Archbishop persisted in maintaining his schools, then every Catholic would have to pay his taxes for the general support of the free schools and still make his contributions to the Bishop for the support of the Catholic schools.

This was the situation with which Tupper had to deal. Many compromises were suggested, and much pressure brought upon him to modify by a system of exceptions his proposals for free non-sectarian schools. It required no little courage absolutely to decline all these suggestions, and to adhere without flinching to a system of free non-sectarian education. It must not be forgotten that since Mr. Howe's unfortunate quarrel with the Catholics, that body had been almost solidly behind the Conservative leaders. The Archbishop of Halifax himself was in political sympathy with Dr. Tupper. To introduce a compulsory system of taxation for the support of schools absolutely non-sectarian—godless, as they were sometimes called—was to jeopardize the relations existing between the Conservative party and the Roman Catholic body, and to menace the existence of the Government. All these conditions Tupper faced without hesitation or faltering and carried through his measure in its original form.

It is fair to state that Dr. Tupper had some decidedly favourable circumstances to aid him in his task. Mr. A. G. Archibald, the leader of the Opposition, was one of the most cordial advocates of the free-school system in the Province.

He represented Colchester County, in whose chief town the Normal School was situated, which more than any other part of the Province had been brought into close contact with the enthusiasm of Drs. Dawson and Forrester, and had thus been educated up to an appreciation of the merits of a free-school policy. But so often political expediency outweighs ingrained principles and reasoned convictions that it must be put to Mr. Archibald's credit that, far from seeking to add to the embarrassment of Dr. Tupper at this juncture by carping criticism and hostile suggestion, he openly and manfully gave the principle of this educational measure his unstinted support. This went a long way, not only to remove the question from party politics but also to discourage the malcontents in the Conservative party who were alarmed at Tupper's measure. There is a tradition of the time, well supported, that men in the Government ranks approached Mr. Archibald at a critical moment, and pointed out that combinations could be formed which would defeat the measure and destroy the Government if he and his followers would give their support. To his lasting credit Mr. Archibald turned a deaf ear to this proposition. However, it is doubtful if a man of Dr. Tupper's dauntless nerve and inexhaustible resource, holding the reins in his hand, would have permitted himself to be defeated by any combination that could then have been formed against him. In less than two years he faced a more desperate situation and emerged triumphantly.

It must be mentioned that in his first measure of 1864, Dr. Tupper did not embody the most vital and dangerous feature of compulsory taxation. He provided for a vastly improved system, created the Council of Public Instruction, composed of the members of the Government; arranged for inspection, county academies, school meetings, the election of trustees and the defining of their powers and duties, and increased educational grants; but the support of schools was left to the option of each school section. Without the feature of compulsory sectional support, the Act would have had little effect in improving common school education. But Dr. Tupper was probably confronted with many difficulties in his first attempts to deal with the subject and was compelled by force of circumstances to begin cautiously. Indeed, one of the first criticisms in 1864 came from Mr. Archibald, who reproached him with having submitted a half-hearted measure instead of a bold proposal for compulsory taxation. Probably Tupper felt the sting of this challenge, and, at the end of the session, a short Act was passed postponing the coming into operation of the Act concerning Public Instruction until the proclamation by the Governor. But, during the session of 1865, Dr. Tupper proposed amendments which introduced compulsory taxation as a means of sectional support, and this was the most delicate and crucial stage of the measure. It was then that Mr. Archibald's chivalry was appealed to. Only the resistless power of Tupper's personality compelled the support of a majority of the members, many, if not most of whom, were undoubtedly alarmed at the political consequences of such a radical and far-reaching measure.

During the consideration of this measure Mr. Isaac LeVesconte, a member supporting the Government, and, until recently, a member of it, submitted a provision for the establishment of a separate school in any section where a given number of rate-payers demanded it. This raised a very serious question and many supporters of the Government were greatly embarrassed. The fate of the Bill and the Government seemed for a moment to hang in the balance. Dr. Tupper met the question with his accustomed boldness. He made no attempt to shirk or temporize. An extract from his speech will show his courageous stand.

"In the existing condition of things in this country, any system of common school education that involved the introduction of separate schools and prevented all denominations of Christians into which our community is divided from co-operating with each other—which would not allow all children, irrespective of sect, to sit side by side, and learn those branches of education which are taught in the common and superior schools of this country—struck at the very foundation of our school system. . . . The Bill had infinitely better be thrown into the fire than that the clauses in question should be incorporated into it."

The consequence of this stand, in which he was manfully supported by Mr. Archibald, was the defeat of the Separate School Amendment and the establishment in Nova Scotia of a system of free non-sectarian schools.

This educational Act was the most useful and beneficial measure passed by the Legislature since Responsible Government was introduced. Its influence upon the intellectual life and moral tone of the Province was far-reaching. It was the first system of free non-sectarian schools adopted in any Province of British North America, and it was brought into operation with a freedom from sectarian strife and bitterness which has been the happy fortune of no other Province attempting a similar course. Tupper's work was appreciated. Some years later Dr. Forrester inscribed his *Teacher's Text Book* to him with the words: "As a small expression of his admiration of his steadfastness and determination in securing, during his Premiership of his native Province, one of the best legislative enactments on popular education to be found in any country."

After the Act had been adopted, the Archbishop proposed to go on with his schools and ignore the Act. His leading parishioners shrank from the burden which this policy would impose, and the matter was ultimately compromised by the Archbishop agreeing to hand over, at a fair rental, his school houses to the School Board, the schools to be supported from the general fund; but there was an understanding that Catholic pupils were to attend these schools and that teachers, licensed by the Council of Public Instruction, were to be appointed by the Roman Catholic members of the School Board. No religious teaching was to be given during school hours, but, as most of these schools were near a Roman Catholic place of worship, the priest could, upon the dismissal of the school, march the children to the vestry and give them religious instruction. A similar concession was made to Protestant clergymen in relation to any of the schools having Protestant pupils, provided they could induce the children to take advantage of the privilege. Under this unwritten convention, which has been faithfully observed until the present day, a system of free non-sectarian schools has been successfully worked in Nova Scotia without friction and without imposing on any conscientious Catholic the invasion of any religious scruple or the impairing of any rights of his Church. After fifty years of non-sectarian schools, may it not be said that there are as good Catholics in

Nova Scotia as in any other part of the Dominion, and that the Church is in as healthy and sound a condition as in any of the Provinces where separate schools have been and are in operation?

What the political consequences of the measure might have been to Dr. Tupper and his party it is not possible definitely to determine. The school question was overshadowed very soon by the greater question of Confederation; but there are many grounds for believing that the application of the school tax in 1866 and 1867 was a large factor in determining the result of the general elections of 1867. It is only rarely that heaven vouchsafes to a country a man endowed with the ability, courage, and firmness to achieve so great a measure, and long after the last political foe has uttered his final anathema upon Charles Tupper multitudes of his fellow countrymen will revere his memory for the noble gift of non-sectarian schools.

In 1867 Dr. Tupper's party was annihilated at the polls, and an Anti-Confederate Government, elected very largely by the votes of those who had resented the imposition of taxation for schools, came into power; but the incoming Government never ventured to lay a vandal hand upon the Common School Act. To have abolished this measure would have been an inconceivable outrage which no responsible administration would have dared to attempt. Some efforts were made to incorporate a separate school system after 1867, but these were not successful. The school law of 1864-65 has remained in successful operation to this day.

Dr. Tupper had to face another awkward and delicate educational question during 1864. The college question, at an earlier period, had created much controversy. Mr. Howe was in favour of a provincial university, unsectarian in its character and uniting the educational forces of the Province. Mr. Johnstone was the champion of denominational colleges, and won. King's College was the first to obtain a royal charter, but it was under the control of the Church of England and applied tests. Then the Castine fund was made available for the erection of a college. This fund was the result of the successful occupation of a Maine port by the British during the War of 1812, and amounted to over £10,000. Part of this fund, £6,750, was devoted to the erection, on the Grand Parade in Halifax City, of a college named Dalhousie, after its founder the Earl of Dalhousie. This college subsequently obtained special grants of about £8,000 from the Provincial Legislature—the latest grant of £5,000 being advanced in the form of a loan. It had little success in its earlier stages because it had no denominational backing. As we have seen, the Baptists, the Roman Catholics and the Methodists had each established their own college, and denominational zeal was behind each of them. The Presbyterians were the largest body of Protestants in the Province, but they had no special college, and whatever educational efforts they put forth were devoted to Pictou Academy and an institution located at Westville, Pictou County. As a result, Dalhousie College had scarcely any life in 1862, when an effort was made to resuscitate it and place it upon a strong basis. It was proposed to get an Act of incorporation for the appointment of certain influential men as provisional Governors, and for the addition of others upon certain qualifying conditions. Mr. Howe, Dr. Tupper, Mr. Young, and Mr. S. L. Shannon were the Governors named in the Act of incorporation. It was the purpose of the promoters that the college should be a provincial university, entirely undenominational and under the control of a composite board of governors, but the chief reliance for sustaining the college was upon the active co-operation of the Presbyterian body.

In 1863 an Act was submitted to the Legislature by Mr. Howe, the leader of the Government, incorporating this Board of Governors and providing that whenever any religious denomination should contribute $1,200 a year to support a professor, it should have the right to nominate a governor and a professor. The proposition was seemingly fair on its face, but, as all the other religious bodies of any strength had their own colleges to support, it was quite clear that whatever support the university would obtain under this legislation would come from the Presbyterian body, and it was understood in advance that this denomination would at once apply for three professorships.

If there were any objections to this measure, which did not contemplate any additional monetary aid from the Province, they ought to have been made when the Bill was before the Legislature. The records show that it was scarcely discussed, met with no opposition whatever, and passed without division. Then the friends of the other colleges suddenly awoke to the fact that whereas their colleges had been built by the efforts of their respective denominations, the Presbyterians were to have Dalhousie College virtually handed over to them, together with public endowments, most of which had been contributed from the Treasury. These were the actual and practical objections. The University about to be brought into life was to be strictly non-sectarian and in no way subject to the control of the Presbyterian body; yet, as practically it would depend upon that body for its students and would supply the higher educational needs of that sect, there was some foundation for the objections that Dalhousie college would be to all intents and purposes a Presbyterian institution.

When this legislation, therefore, began to be understood by the professors and friends of the other colleges a strong opposition developed, the lead being taken in this movement by the Baptists. Petitions were circulated, numerously signed, and presented to the Legislature early in the session of 1864. Mr. Avard Longley, one of the members for Annapolis, a Baptist and a friend of Acadia College, was the gentleman selected to champion the cause of the other colleges, and to protest against what were alleged to be unfair advantages conferred upon the Presbyterian body. Toward the end of the session Mr. Longley moved a resolution which after reciting fully the antecedent facts concluded as follows:

"1. That the Act passed at the last session for the regulation and support of Dalhousie College be repealed and the college with its endowments and funds be otherwise appropriated.

"2. That there be required from the Governors of Dalhousie College the payment of the £2,500 loaned from the provincial chest agreeably to the condition upon which said loan was made."

Mr. Longley enforced his views in a lengthy and vehement speech, in which he plainly foreshadowed that the struggle would go on until justice was done.

The situation had to be met and there was no one to do this effectively but Dr. Tupper; yet it undoubtedly presented many embarrassing features. Dr. Tupper up to this period professed to be a Baptist. Mr. Johnstone, the leader of the Government, was not only a prominent Baptist but had gained great prestige in his early struggles for denominational colleges. Among the petitioners in favour of Mr. Longley's resolution was Dr. Tupper's own venerable father. The Baptists were largely in sympathy with the Conservative party and numerous and influential in Cumberland county. Under such conditions, the ordinary politician would have hesitated, shuffled, and sought to evade the issue. But this was never Tupper's method. He sprang to his feet the moment Mr. Longley, who was a devoted follower, had concluded, and in the most clear, unequivocal, and emphatic manner justified the legislation of 1863, denied that it infringed the rights of any other college, and claimed that it was in the interests of the country that this institution be revived and placed on a solid basis. As an illustration of his extreme boldness it is only necessary to quote his concluding words, which it will be freely admitted are not the words of an opportunist.

"Sir, the honourable member for Annapolis has intimated that this agitation against Dalhousie College will continue until its walls are razed to its foundations and that those who endeavour to sustain it will be buried beneath their ruins. Let me tell him, sir, that, attached as I am to the great party with which I am connected, possessing, as I may confess I do, some fondness for the political life, I would infinitely prefer the fate which he threatens to the highest post my country can offer, if it must be purchased by an act so unpatriotic, so unjust as the resolution which he has moved would involve."

The resolution was defeated, even Mr. Johnstone being constrained by the compelling influence of Dr. Tupper to vote against it. But Dr. Tupper did not escape the consequences of this resolute course. He was openly attacked by the Rev. Dr. Cramp, the president of Acadia College, and other friends of denominational colleges. But their attacks left him unmoved, and, as the following incident shows, he courageously faced the situation. In June of that year Dr. Tupper took care to attend the anniversary exercises of Acadia College. He was now Premier of the Province, but he was coldly received. His chance to defend himself against his enemies came at the dinner of the Alumni Association on the afternoon of the anniversary exercises. He was a member of this body and had a right to attend the dinner, of which he availed himself. He was given no welcome nor was he asked to sit at the head of the table. He was content to take his place near the foot. Soon after a friend arrived late and took a seat near him, observing: "Like myself, you must have been late, Dr. Tupper, or else you would have been sitting at the head of the table."

Dr. Tupper smiled and simply remarked: "Wherever MacGregor sits there is the heid o' the table." But soon the toasts and speeches began and at the first suitable moment Tupper was upon his feet and spoke at length, boldly defending his action in the matter of Dalhousie College, and challenging the judgment of enlightened men. Some of the more narrow-minded of those present were very angry, for they had no opportunity to reply, but others were filled with admiration at his boldness in thus justifying his course in the camp of the enemy.

Dalhousie University has steadily expanded ever since its resuscitation, but this has had no appreciable influence in displacing or even diminishing the support of denominational institutions, which have kept pace with the growth of Dalhousie. As a consequence, Nova Scotia, with less than half a million people, is supporting six chartered colleges.

CHAPTER III

CONFEDERATION (1864-1870)

BUT all the important legislation initiated by Dr. Tupper in 1864 pales in ultimate result before his resolution in favour of a conference of the Governments of the three Maritime Provinces for the purpose of considering a union of these Provinces. In moving this resolution requesting His Excellency, the Administrator of the Government, "to appoint delegates (not to exceed five) to confer with delegates who may be appointed by the Governments of New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, for the purpose of considering the subject of the union of the three Provinces under one Government and Legislature," he remarked:

"I am satisfied that looking to immigration, to the elevation of public credit, to the elevation of public sentiment which must arise from enlarging the sphere of action, the interests of these Provinces require that they should be united under one Government and Legislature. It would tend to decrease the personal element in our political discussions, and to rest the claims of our public men more upon the advocacy of public questions than it is possible at the present moment whilst these colonies are so limited in extent."

The question of a union of the whole of British North America had been freely discussed before this date, and far-seeing men had had visions and dreamed dreams of a United Canada. As early as 1688 Francis Nicholson, Governor of New England, had advocated the confederation of the British Provinces in North America. In 1764 Thomas Pownall, "Late Governor, Captain-General, Commander-in-chief and Vice-Admiral of His Majesty's Provinces, Massachusetts Bay, and South Carolina, and Lieutenant-Governor of New Jersey" put forward in *The Administration of the British Colonies* a plan for uniting the British Dominions, including, of course, those colonies which afterwards revolted, "in a full and absolute communication and commission of all rights, franchises and liberties, which any other part of the realm hath, or doth enjoy, or ought to have and to enjoy; in communication of the same burthens, offices and emoluments; in commission of the same federal and commercial rights; in the same exercise of judicial and executive powers; in the same participation of Council, and that therefore in the course and procedure of our government with the Colonies, there must arise a duty in government to give, a right in the Colonies to claim, a share in the legislature of Great Britain, by having Knights and Burgesses of their own election, representing them in Parliament." In 1814, Chief Justice Sewell of Quebec, in a letter to the Duke of Kent, urged a Federal Union of British North America. Lord Durham in his famous *Report* favoured a similar union—a union in which "the separate Legislature of each Province would be preserved in its present form, and retain almost all its present attributes of internal legislation; the Federal Legislature exercising no power, save in those matters of general concern, which may have been expressly ceded to it by the constituent Provinces." In the turbulent times of the Rebellion Losses Bill, the British America League which met in Toronto in 1849 freely discussed the necessity of union of the British American Provinces. But it was left for Nova Scotia to begin the legislative discussion of this important question. In 1854 Mr. J. W. Johnstone moved: "that the union or confederation of the British Provinces on just principles, while calculated to perpetuate their connection with the parent state, would promote their advancement and prosperity, increase their strength and influence, and elevate their position—that his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, by address, be respectfully requested to make known to the Queen, and to the sister Provinces of Canada, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island his opinion, and the desire of the House to promote the object; and that his Excellency, by correspondence with the Imperial and Provincial Governments, and all other means in his power, be urged to facilitate the consideration of a measure, which, if matured on principles satisfactory to the several Provinces, and calculated to secure their harmony and bring into action their consolidated strength, must result in benefits of inestimable value."[1] Confederation was in the air. Galt in 1858 pressed the question in the Legislature of United Canada and his action resulted in a deputation consisting of three members of the Government of Canada, Cartier, Galt, and Rose, being sent to England to confer with the Imperial Government on the question. The deputation was graciously received by Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, Secretary of State for the Colonies, and informed that the Imperial Government would gladly authorize a conference on the subject, but that it could only do so if a desire to that effect was expressed by all the colonies interested. Howe had long been advocating a broader scheme of Imperial Federation, but was not averse to local action as a step towards the larger measure. The question received the close attention of Dr. Tupper. He studied it from every angle, and in 1860 at the opening of the Mechanics' Institute, St. John, New Brunswick, delivered a lecture on "The Political Condition of British North America". In this lecture, in many ways one of the most remarkable of his career, he strongly urged Confederation as a solution of the political difficulties which beset Canada, and as opening a field for national statesmanship. He was thoroughly dissatisfied with the status of the British North America Provinces. "Our position," he said, "is ever one of uncertainty. We have no constitution but the *dicta* of the ever-changing occupants of Downing Street, who can only see us through the glasses furnished them by those whom accident has sent into what is regarded as the temporary exile of a colonial governorship, and whose feelings, sympathies, and interests are entirely foreign to our own." He was critical of the method of colonial government practised by Great Britain. "Was it such," he asked, "as to meet our material progress and satisfy the natural and laudable ambition of free and intelligent minds"? "It must," he said, "be evident to everyone in the least degree acquainted with our history, that at present we are without name or nationality—comparatively destitute of influence and of the means of occupying the position to which we may justly aspire. What is a British-American but a man regarded as a mere dependent upon an Empire which, however great and glorious, does not recognize him as entitled to any voice in her Senate, or possessing any interests worthy of Imperial regard? This may seem harsh, but the past is eloquent with illustrations of its truth. What voice or influence had New Brunswick when an English peer settled most amicably the dispute with an adjoining country by giving away a large and important slice of her territory to a foreign power? Where were the interests of these Maritime Provinces when another English nobleman relieved England of the necessity of protecting our fisheries by giving them away to the same Republic without obtaining any adequate consideration for a sacrifice so immense? . . .

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[1] Campbell, Duncan: *History of Nova Scotia,* p. 433.

"It may be said that we were a party to the negotiation of that treaty [the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854], but it is not so. The very mode in which the colonies interested were invited to participate was simply an insult. They were permitted to *concur* but not consulted in the arrangements."

The lack of opportunity for Colonial men of talent oppressed his spirit. "The systematic exclusion," he complained, "of colonists from gubernatorial positions must forever prevent us from having great men. The human mind naturally adapts itself to the position it occupies. The most gigantic intellect may be dwarfed by being 'cabin'd, cribb'd, confined'. It requires a great country and great circumstances to develop great men."

But while in this lecture Dr. Tupper proved himself emphatically a politician of the "Canada First" school there was in his utterances no note of disloyalty to Great Britain. The union and solidarity of the Provinces would give greater strength to the Empire. The more liberty given the Provinces, the greater opportunities thrown open to their sons, would but build up on this side of the Atlantic a confederation that would "be in a position to strengthen the hands of the parent state and share her glories in the cause of human civilization and progress".

The closing paragraph of this lecture shows intense pride of country and a prescience that in the light of Canada's present history is remarkable:

"Our climate is more healthy than that of England; the fertility of the soil is unsurpassed by hers; our geographical position relative to the New World is the same as she occupies to the Old; our equally magnificent harbours present the same facilities for commerce; while the iron and coal, and the limestone—the possession of which has rendered her the greatest manufacturing mart of Europe—here abound to any extent in close proximity and of the most excellent quality. Who can doubt that under these circumstances, with such a confederation as these five Provinces —to which, at a future day, the great Red River and Saskatchewan country, now in possession of the Hudson's Bay Company, and British Columbia, on the Pacific coast, would be added—as would give us the political position due to our extent of area, our resources, and our intelligent population—untrammelled either by slavery or the ascendency of any dominant Church—presenting almost the only country where the great principles of civil and religious equality really exist, British America, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, would in a few years exhibit to the world a great and powerful organization, with British institutions, British sympathies, and British feelings, bound indissolubly to the Throne of England by a community of interests, and united to it by the Viceroyalty of one of the promising sons of our beloved Queen, whose virtues have enthroned her in the hearts of her subjects in every section of an Empire upon which the sun never sets?"

Dr. Tupper did not pretend that the union of British North America could be immediately accomplished, but he put it forward as an object to be aimed at, an end to be achieved. He regarded a movement for a Maritime union as an important step toward the accomplishment of the larger scheme. This lecture did not attract any serious attention at the time; it was merely regarded as one more expression of a vague dream. It was, however, in practical furtherance of this idea that in the winter session of 1864 he proposed his resolution authorizing the Government to enter into correspondence with the sister Provinces with a view to a congress. The matter was not very fully discussed nor was it made a party question, but it was readily adopted by the House.

Soon after the end of the session of 1864, Mr. Johnstone was appointed Judge in Equity, and Tupper, as we have seen, became Prime Minister, Mr. W. A. Henry succeeding Mr. Johnstone as Attorney-General.

Dr. Tupper promptly put himself in communication with the Governments of the other Provinces, and obtained their concurrence in a conference, which it was finally arranged would meet in September at Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island. The next duty was the selection of delegates. That he should be one, and Mr. Henry, the Attorney-General another, was inevitable, and he selected Hon. Robert Barry Dickey of Amherst, a wealthy member of the Legislative Council and a devoted friend and supporter, as a third. It was necessary, he conceived, in order to give this large matter a position above the conflicts of party, that the Opposition should be represented. Naturally, Hon. A. G. Archibald, the Liberal leader, would be a delegate. Mr. Howe was not then in public life, but was devoting himself to his duties as Imperial Fishery Commissioner, but Dr. Tupper recognized that, in breadth of view, ability, and weight in the councils of his party, Howe stood far above all others in the Province. So, in spite of the bitterness which had marked their previous relations, he offered the second place on the delegation to him. Mr. Howe replied in writing, expressing his sense of the compliment offered, and his sincere regret that his duties at that season of the year would make it impossible for him to attend; intimated his hope that the conference might be successful, and declared that if a fair scheme were propounded he would give it his support. This correspondence is important, because it relieves Dr. Tupper from the charge often made of ignoring Howe in this movement toward union, and thereby provoking his great rival's hostility to Confederation. Mr. Howe having declined, the seat was next offered to Mr. John Locke, a Liberal member from Shelburne County, a very worthy business man, but not especially adapted to deal with large questions. He was not able to accept and the vacant place on the delegation was then bestowed on Mr. Jonathan McCully, the Liberal leader in the Legislative Council. Probably Dr. Tupper did not altogether regard him as a *persona grata*, Mr. McCully not being either an amiable or popular man; but he had ability, and could not fail to be a source of strength to a body of statesmen dealing with any large question.

The Conference met at Charlottetown on 1st of September, 1864. The delegates had scarcely organized before it became evident that a Maritime Union was practically impossible, as the delegates from Prince Edward Island flatly refused to consider any scheme unless the capital was fixed at Charlottetown. As this little city is on an island, and, at that time, was almost inaccessible in the winter months, such an arrangement could not possibly be agreed to by the delegates from the two larger mainland provinces.

But while this conference, intrinsically, is of no historical importance, and while under ordinary circumstances it would have broken up without result, its consequences proved to be vast and far-reaching. It met soon after the coalition government had been formed in Canada—as Ontario and Quebec were then designated—to make an effort to break the deadlock which for some years had disturbed political conditions in that Province. John A. (afterwards Sir John) Macdonald and George Brown conceived the idea that it provided a convenient opportunity for securing a discussion of the question of the Union of Canada and the other British North America provinces, so the Canadian Government sought the privilege of meeting the delegates for the Maritime Conference. This was obtained, and John A. Macdonald, George Brown, Georges E. (afterwards Sir Georges) Cartier, Alexander (afterwards Sir Alexander) Tilloch Galt, William McDougall, Thomas D'Arcy McGee and Hector L. (afterwards Sir Hector) Langevin, appeared in Charlottetown on the 2nd of September, explained the situation, and proposed that the Maritime delegates should adjourn to meet at an early day in Quebec in conference with the representatives of the Canadian Government, for the purpose of considering the formation of a union of all the provinces of British North America. This proposition was assented to, and it was determined that Newfoundland should also be invited to send delegates. The Conference was duly convened at Quebec on the 10th of October, 1864, and, after long deliberation, framed a scheme of union which is the basis upon which Confederation was finally adopted.

During the visit of the Canadian ministers to the Maritime Provinces they were entertained at several of the leading cities and towns, and these public gatherings afforded an excellent opportunity for the discussion of the larger phases of Confederation. The first of these demonstrations was at Charlottetown, where a public banquet was given to the distinguished visitors. On this occasion Dr. Tupper made the following observations:

"I feel assured that all will endorse the sentiment that it is our duty and interest to cement the colonies together by every tie that can add to their greatness. A union of the North American provinces would elevate their position, consolidate their influence and advance their interests; and, at the same time, continue their fealty to their mother country and their Queen, which fealty is the glory of us all. The British-American statesman who does not feel it his duty to do all in his power to unite politically, socially and commercially the British provinces is unworthy of his position and is unequal to the task submitted to him."

Dr. Tupper presided at the banquet given at Halifax to the Canadian delegates and introduced them in the following terms: "I have had the pride and satisfaction on the present occasion of asking my fellow citizens in Halifax to testify their appreciation of the visit of so many distinguished public men from all these provinces. I am perhaps safe in saying that no more momentous gathering of public men has ever taken place in these provinces, whether regarded as comprising the ablest men not only of one party, but of both the great parties into which all the colonies have been divided."

Before the Canadian delegation arrived Tupper was a firm believer in the union of the colonies. The only question in his mind was the opportune time and circumstances for its accomplishment. The visit and the proposals of the Canadian delegates seemed to elevate the matter into a practical issue. He was not blind to the many difficulties which would have to be overcome before such a far-reaching measure could be achieved, but, now that it had taken shape for practical action, he was ready to meet all the difficulties and dedicate every energy to its accomplishment. Some politicians are forever haunted by fears and hesitate to make a bold plunge on behalf of a great measure. They prefer to wait timidly and note the drift of public opinion before committing themselves. Whatever may have been Tupper's faults, opportunism was not to be reckoned among them. When firmly convinced that a public measure was sound and right all hesitancy vanished. He gave without reserve all his strength to its achievement, and no difficulty, or even temporary defeat, daunted him for a moment.

One of the most interesting political results of these conferences between the statesmen of Canada and those of the Maritime Provinces was the bringing together of two men notable in Canadian history—John A. Macdonald and Charles Tupper. Mr. Macdonald had a keen political instinct, and was a practical every-day type of politician, aiming to accomplish things which were within sight and eager to avail himself of the services of men who could be useful in carrying forward his schemes. His unerring instinct perceived in Dr. Tupper a man capable of doing things, and he instantly sought his alliance and co-operation. The combination of the political forces of these two men continued until long after Confederation and had results which the closest study and the nicest judgment will have difficulty in measuring. Without undervaluing the merits of other public men of the Maritime Provinces, such as S. L. (afterwards Sir Leonard) Tilley, and A. G. Archibald, Mr. Macdonald instantly recognized that the one man upon whom he could rely in realizing the great work of Confederation was Tupper. He was right. Tupper was possessed of masterful qualities. To a clear intellect were added indomitable courage and a seriousness of manner and action which impressed all who were brought into contact with him. He was not one of those easy-drifters who wait upon Providence, avoid all dangers, and get on by amiable negation; Tupper always knew his own mind, always had a clear idea of what he believed should be done, and was ready to give to the work in hand all the vigour and force of his nature. He did not shirk responsibilities, or waste his time in wooing the chances of fortune, as many successful politicians do. His methods were direct. He declared openly and unequivocally what he proposed to do and depended upon main force to remove difficulties and secure success. In this respect he was, and remained, a unique figure in the public life of Canada; a dynamo of force, he depended upon his own strength and persistence to accomplish the objects he had in view.

According to Sir Joseph Pope, Macdonald and Tupper formed "an alliance, offensive and defensive, and the arrangement there entered into remained unbroken until dissolved by death". The following extract from a letter written at Quebec on November 14th, 1864, by Macdonald to Tupper, shows that even at this early period each had full confidence in the other:

"I intend to commence next week to draft the

Bill to be submitted for the consideration of the Imperial Government, and shall be glad to get from you such hints or suggestions as may occur to you.

"Have you formed any plan as to the mode in which you will submit the subject to your Parliament?

"In looking over our resolutions, I see a mistake has crept in. We have given power from time to time to the Local Legislatures to alter the constituencies sending members to the General Parliament. Now, this is an obvious blunder, and must be corrected.

"I shall be obliged by your giving me your ideas as to the general administration—the number of the Executive and the distribution of Departments. This must all be wrought out, and, if possible, form a portion of the Imperial Act. I have not thought this branch of the subject over, but mean to do so at once. So soon as I can form a *projet* I will transmit it to you. So please reciprocate.

"I have not forgotten the compact we made here, and will act strictly and cordially up to it."[1]

The Quebec scheme was published soon after the Conference, though it was intended to be kept secret until the first legislature should meet in any province concerned. Its publication at once called forth profound opposition in the Maritime Provinces. The circumstances in these Provinces were somewhat different from those which existed in Canada. In Canada the people had become weary of deadlock, the tariff was high, and the public debt large. Confederation there was removed from the region of party politics, as the more powerful leaders of both parties were actively supporting it. In Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island provincial affairs had been going on smoothly. Deadlock had not paralyzed legislation and disturbed political conditions. The tariff was low; the public debt small, and the provincial revenues were steadily increasing. Confederation bade fair to disturb the existing conditions of trade to which the merchants were accustomed. General prosperity prevailed, and business men shrank from any radical change. Then, too, Canada was an unknown factor; trade relations with it had been very slight, and the means of access to it were limited. The faction fights in Canada had been reported in exaggerated form and had excited prejudice; the people of the Maritime Provinces feared to cast in their lot with such a quarrelsome community. All these reasons contributed to evoke immediate, active, and wide-spread opposition to the scheme of union. Discussion, education, and large appeals to national sentiment were necessary to overcome the opposition to the far-reaching changes proposed.

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[1] Pope, Sir Joseph: *Memoirs of The Right Honourable Sir John Alexander Macdonald, G.C.B.*, pp. 271-272.

In New Brunswick a general election was due, and it was in that province that Confederation was to receive its first baptism of the fire of popular sentiment. Mr. Tilley was at the head of the Government and a popular and trusted leader. His first lieutenant was Mr. Peter Mitchell, at that time the most adroit politician and the most picturesque figure in the public life of New Brunswick. But the anti-Confederate party at once rallied under Messrs. Albert J. (afterwards Sir Albert J.) Smith and T. W. Anglin, and prepared to contest every seat on the question of Confederation. The election resulted in the defeat of the Unionists and the election of a large majority of anti-Confederates. This news was hailed with unrestrained delight by the anti-Confederates of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, and for the moment the project of Confederation was looked upon as dead. This action of New Brunswick was fatal to Union for the time being. That there were indications of profound hostility to the scheme in Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland was not so serious. These islands it was desirable to have in the Dominion, but a union could be formed without them; New Brunswick, on the other hand, stood immediately adjoining Canada, and no union was practicable without that province.

It did not need the New Brunswick episode to give vigorous life to the anti-Confederate sentiment in Nova Scotia. Soon after the publication of the Quebec resolutions the antagonism to Confederation became widespread. But the circumstances at the outset were favourable to the Unionist cause. Messrs. Archibald and McCully were the recognized leaders of the Opposition. Having been delegates to the Conferences at Charlottetown and Quebec, they were committed to the scheme and gave it their full, steady, and loyal support. This tended to deprive the question of the character of a party issue. Mr. McCully was editor of the *Morning Chronicle*, the organ of the Liberal party; he wrote editorials strongly favouring the Union, and these were read by all the leading Liberals of the province. The Confederates called a meeting in Halifax at which addresses were made on behalf of the Quebec scheme by Tupper, Archibald, and other prominent men of both parties. Some days afterwards a meeting was held in the same hall by those hostile to Union, and it proved a notable demonstration. Those opposed to Confederation had not an array of political leaders on the platform as speakers; it was a people's battle, and the significance of the meeting was found in its intense enthusiasm and in the fact that leading Conservative supporters of Dr. Tupper were among the speakers, including Messrs. A. M. Uniacke, P. Power, and, above all, A. G. Jones, destined to become an important factor in the political life of the country, who now made his first public appearance, delivering the most effective speech against the Union. On this occasion, too, Mr. Annand and other leading Liberals were heard. It was an interesting incident of the meeting that Mr. Joseph Howe, who had been out of public life for two years, sat upon the platform, though he took no part in the meeting. What course he would take at this crucial moment was a matter of tremendous import. Although the feeling towards Confederation was hostile, yet, in the absence of any able opposition leader, Tupper, aided by Archibald, might be able to stem the tide and crush by the weight of his personal power, supported by a well-organized force of trained politicians, the inexperienced men who were opposing him.

The public had not long to wait. The *Morning Chronicle* was owned by Mr. Annand, and it was easy for him to dispense with the services of Mr. McCully as editor and resume control of its editorial columns. This was done the day after the meeting. Mr. McCully had written a mild editorial, minimizing the character and effect of the meeting, a flaming account of which was published simultaneously in the news columns of the *Morning Chronicle*. But the following morning appeared an editorial entitled "The Botheration Scheme, No. I", tearing the Quebec resolutions to tatters, in that inimitable and trenchant style that Nova Scotians had been long accustomed to—the handiwork of only one possible man, Joseph Howe. The die was cast and no man realized more fully than Tupper himself the terrible struggle before him, confronted, as he now was, by the most electrifying and convincing orator that British North America has produced. But let no man imagine that he was daunted, even in the slightest degree. Such a word as fear was not in Tupper's vocabulary, and he awaited the result with calm assurance, never, even under the most adverse conditions, for an instant doubtful of success.

The session of 1865 was a somewhat trying one for Tupper. The popular wave against Confederation had risen to such a height that a large number of his supporters in the House had ceased to resist its force. A number were thoroughly hostile, and, if a vote had been precipitated that session, the result was not open to doubt. Two recent by-elections had been decisively unfavourable to the Government. The New Brunswick elections had emboldened the opponents of the Union to a point of infatuated confidence. It was Tupper's determination that no vote should be taken. But the question had to come up in some form as a safety valve; for, so dominant was the issue, the members must talk about it, and Tupper determined that it should come up on his own initiative and under conditions which he should prescribe. Consequently, on the 10th of April, 1865, he moved the following resolution:

"Whereas under existing circumstances an immediate union of the British North America colonies has become impracticable, and whereas a legislative union of the Maritime Provinces is desirable, whether the larger union is accomplished or not:

"Therefore:—Resolved that negotiations be renewed for a union of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island."

In a letter of May 10th, 1865, to Sir Richard Graves Macdonnell, Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, Dr. Tupper clearly sets forth the political situation and his reason for moving this resolution.

"On our return, an opposition to the proposed Union was organized in this city [Halifax] by a number of the mercantile men of both parties, associated with active opponents of the Government.

"The Government, although supported on general questions by a large majority in the Legislature, were in a most disadvantageous position to meet this unlooked-for opposition. During the previous session, they had imperilled their popularity by a patriotic effort to improve the common school education of the country by introducing the obnoxious system of compulsory assessment. Under the operation of that law, the whole country had been recently excited, and an immense amount of hostility towards the Government induced, destroying the confidence of many members supporting the Government in the security of their positions in case of an appeal to the people.

"Notwithstanding the zealous efforts of Messrs. Archibald and McCully, the opponents of Confederation rallied round their standard the great body of the party opposed to the Government, largely reinforced by those whom opposition to assessment for schools had rendered disaffected, and by numbers whose fears had been excited by the statement that Union with Canada would involve a large increase of taxation. On the other hand, the Government, having obtained the aid of leading members of the Opposition upon the delegation, could not rely upon the party support which would, under other circumstances, have been available. I am sure that I need not say to you who have witnessed our efforts, that all that the members of your Government, ably aided by Messrs. Archibald and McCully, could do to stem the current setting thus strongly against Confederation, was done. In the press and on the platform, in various sections of the country, the most determined exertions were used to disabuse the public mind of the prejudices raised against the proposed Union. Just at this crisis, when the demand was loud that nothing should be done without a previous appeal to the people at the polls, the Legislature of New Brunswick was dissolved in order to afford the electors of that province an opportunity of expressing their opinion on this question.

"When our Legislature met it was at once ascertained that it was impossible to obtain a decision in favour of the scheme on account of the feeling of alarm which had been excited throughout the country. It would have been obviously fatal to the cause of Confederation in New Brunswick to allow a hostile vote to be recorded here pending their elections, and all we could do under those circumstances was to postpone the discussion of the question. When the election in that province resulted in an overwhelming defeat of the scheme, but fourteen out of forty-one members having been returned in favour of it, the difficulty of obtaining any expression of approval here was increased, as members who might have been disposed to sacrifice their own position to achieve an important object would not be willing to do so without any practical result to be attained. It was considered by the Government and the delegates belonging to the Opposition to be of the highest importance to prevent the Legislature being committed to an expression of feeling against Confederation, and, after the most anxious deliberation, it was decided that that object could be best effected by the passage of a resolution authorizing negotiations to be re-opened for a Legislative Union of the Maritime Provinces.

"There were many reasons which suggested this course of action as desirable. While the opponents of Confederation professed great favour for the lesser union, the Government and friends of the Quebec scheme here had ever regarded the legislative union of the Maritime Provinces as not only calculated to promote the larger union, but in the highest degree desirable in case of federation. Two of the principal objections urged against the proposed Confederation, the want of unity of action among the Maritime Provinces and the insignificant position of the local Governments and Legislatures under Confederation, would both be effectually removed by the legislative union of these three provinces. In the present condition of New Brunswick, some such step appeared to be the best calculated to remove the obstacle to Confederation which had arisen there.

"If, on the other hand, as was not unlikely, the proposal to carry out the scheme for a union of the three provinces was not entertained by New Brunswick, it would remove the consideration of that question out of the way of the discussion of the greater union, and thus favour the adoption of the latter."

The consummate adroitness of Tupper in re-opening the question of a union of the Maritime Provinces is easily discernible. The announcement that a union of the British North America colonies had become impracticable was intended to soothe and reassure those who had become the victims of the panic which popular manifestations had created. These men did not perceive the significance of the word "immediate", so artfully inserted, and it disturbed no one that there should be another harmless move in the direction of Maritime Union, concerning which most persons were quite indifferent.

An ordinary politician would have made a quiet and apologetic speech and thus have allowed the matter to blow over. But this was not Tupper's method. He believed in Union and had a fixed purpose that such a union should be formed, and so he took advantage of this harmless resolution to make one of the most powerful speeches of his life in support of Confederation. While affirming that the matter was now impossible owing to New Brunswick's attitude, he proceeded for two hours to speak in masterly terms of the advantages of the larger union, which speech he took care should be widely circulated. A long debate ensued, with interminable talk about Confederation, but the resolution was adopted, and thus Tupper had avoided any adverse action while at the same time boldly proclaiming his belief in the desirability of Confederation.

In 1866 the situation changed. The Government of Mr. Smith in New Brunswick had been having a hard time in spite of its overwhelming majority. New Brunswick is, and always has been, one of the most intensely loyal provinces of Canada, probably due to the United Empire Loyalist origin of the people. Fenian raids were threatening, and this stirred New Brunswickers to the depths, and convinced them of the need of the British North America provinces being in a position to show a united front to external enemies. The Secretary of State for the Colonies was sending despatches to the Lieutenant-Governor strongly urging Confederation as an Imperial measure. From the time he came into power Mr. Smith had shown a fatal capacity for blundering in his general administration, and this had cost him the loss of some of the most powerful men in his party. The Fenian attitude, the despatches of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and Mr. Smith's blunders all worked against the Government, and an election in 1866 in York county, contested upon the Confederation issue, resulted in the conversion of an anti-Confederate majority of nearly six hundred into a Unionist majority of over seven hundred.

The New Brunswick Legislature met on March 8th, 1866. It had unfortunately been found necessary that the Lieutenant-Governor should put in his speech a paragraph in which he stated that he was " directed to express to you the strong and deliberate opinion of Her Majesty's Government that it is an object much to be desired that all the British North America colonies should agree to unite in one government".

As the Government was responsible for the utterances of the Lieutenant-Governor in the speech from the Throne, this expression was fatal to the Government, and its downfall was a foregone conclusion. It still clung to office, but its prestige was at an end and its power had ceased. At length, on April 13th, Mr. Smith resigned, and a Confederation Government, under Messrs. Mitchell and Tilley, was immediately formed. A dissolution took place, and in the general election held in May and June a large majority was returned to support the Union. Thus in one year the situation for the Confederates in New Brunswick had changed from despair to glowing hope.

The Legislature of Nova Scotia met early in 1866. The situation in New Brunswick had not then fully developed, but enough was known of the changed conditions to make it reasonably clear that that province was about to give its adhesion to Confederation. By this time the anti-Confederate party was well organized in Nova Scotia. In the House of Assembly Mr. Stewart Campbell of Guysboro had been chosen its leader and it was believed that a majority in the House was inexorably opposed to Confederation.

Every one was waiting with intense interest to see what course Tupper would take.

Fate played into his hands. One of the most active opponents of Confederation at that time was Mr. Wm. Miller, a very young member who had been elected as an independent supporter of Tupper in 1863, and had displayed much independence upon all public questions. When Confederation became an issue he opposed it with great vigour and addressed various meetings in Nova Scotia. One day in April, Mr. Miller rose in his place in the House and made a speech in respect of Confederation, which was a bolt out of the blue. Mr. Miller said in effect that, while the Quebec scheme was open to many objections, there were many reasons why union was desirable, and he made the proposal that delegates be appointed to frame a scheme more just and advantageous to Nova Scotia. This was a stunning proposition to the anti-Confederates, coming as it did from one of the most active opponents of Confederation in the House. The suspicion was at once felt and the charge immediately made that Miller had been "fixed" by Tupper, and this was reiterated and the belief continued until 1874, when Mr. Miller brought a libel suit against the *Morning Chronicle* for declaring, in effect, that he had been "bought" by Tupper. At the trial Dr. Tupper was a witness, and he stated in most specific terms that neither directly nor indirectly had he offered any inducements whatever to Mr. Miller. He asserted, on the contrary, that he had no previous communication with him and that his statement in the House had taken him completely by surprise. But, if surprised, Dr. Tupper was quick to take advantage of the opening that Mr. Miller's proposition offered, and while declaring that he was not then in a position to give a definite answer to Mr. Miller's proposal said that the matter would receive earnest consideration and early action. In consequence, on the 10th of April, 1866, Dr. Tupper moved the following resolution, which seemed to be an outcome of Mr. Miller's suggestion, although it is probable that he had determined on this course quite independently.

"Whereas in the opinion of this House it is desirable that a Confederation of the British North America provinces should take place:

"Resolved:—That the Lieutenant-Governor be authorized to appoint delegates to arrange with the Imperial Government a scheme of Union which will effectively assure just provisions for the rights and interest of the Province; each Province to have an equal voice in such delegation, Upper and Lower Canada being for this purpose considered as separate provinces."

It was easy to submit this resolution and to enforce it in a speech of unsurpassed eloquence and power; but it was not an easy matter to ensure its passage in a House afflicted with the dread of popular condemnation. The sentiment of the Province was unmistakably hostile and the average member is not usually disposed to commit political suicide. It was in such a situation that Tupper's qualities shone. Most public men would have shrunk from the task. The suggestion of temporizing and delay would have appealed to the majority of political leaders similarly situated. The reasoning would have been: "It is impossible to overcome the difficulties now; the wisest course is to wait a little and give time for popular prejudices to abate and afford an opportunity for the education of public opinion. It requires time to carry any important measure like this and our friends in the other provinces can afford to be patient." But under the conditions then existing such a policy would have indefinitely delayed Confederation and might have rendered it impossible for a generation.

Tupper knew that Canada was adopting the scheme and appointing delegates to meet in London to embody the Quebec resolutions in an Act of the Imperial Parliament. New Brunswick was on the eve of taking a similar course. If Nova Scotia failed to respond now when the moment was ripe for action, either there would be no Confederation or Nova Scotia would be out of it. He apprehended fully the volume of popular hostility and the difficulty of allaying it. The next year a general election was due, and on the strength of the unpopularity of the school-tax and the widespread prejudice against Confederation, his opponents, under the leadership of Howe, would be certain to carry the election, and the administration would fall into the hands of the deadly opponents of union, who would exert all their influence in thwarting any steps for obtaining it and in fanning popular sentiment against it. Therefore, if Confederation was to be accomplished, now was the supreme moment. If immense difficulties stood in the way, the more need of extraordinary efforts to overcome them. Among his associates in the cause there were faint hearts who shrank from the attempt to get immediate and irrevocable legislative sanction. They feared that it would bring execration by a baffled and enraged people. But Tupper yielded to no such fear, and remained firm and inexorable in the determination to carry the measure at all costs and hazards.

The opponents of Union in the House had one clear line of action, which they embodied in an amendment to Tupper's resolution, namely, that before any course was adopted which should alter the constitution and change the political conditions of the country the matter be first submitted to the verdict of the people. They reasoned, and with justice, that the House was elected to carry on the affairs of the Province under existing conditions, and that no hint had been given at the time of the elections of any intention to subvert the constitution and hand the destinies of the Province over to the control of a central Parliament and Government, in which the people of Nova Scotia would have but a limited voice and representation. Technically, this position was unanswerable. According to the most advanced notions of popular government a radical change in the constitution of the country should not be made without popular sanction. It is one thing for a member to vote for a legislative Act which his constituents abhor and which may be repealed the next session, and another for him to vote that the province be handed over to the control of another country, or absorbed in a union with other provinces. This is irrevocable and, therefore, in theory, at all events, ought to be subject to popular approval. But Dr. Tupper was little concerned about such abstract questions. The supreme thoughts in his mind were that Confederation was essential to the well-being and national existence of British North America and was warmly endorsed by the Home Government as an Imperial measure; that this was the hour to achieve it; and that, if it failed now, no one could foresee the exigencies that might postpone it for an indefinite period. If the majority of the people were at this moment hostile, this was due to prejudice, arising from want of information.

When the Union was once accomplished, its advantages would be apparent and the popular imagination would be impressed with the importance of a national autonomy and a consolidated state, able to safeguard the interests of the whole colonial population. Therefore, it must be carried now; the future could take care of itself. In apportioning the honours for the achievement of Confederation, great credit must be given to Sir John Macdonald for his steadying influence and his capacity to mould men and events to his will; equal credit must be assigned to George Brown who, in order to create a nation, swallowed intense political prejudices and agreed, against the whole fibre of his being, to serve with and under the man to whom he was implacably hostile. Praise is also due to other authors and founders of Confederation, but few will dispute that none of these eminent and patriotic statesmen was confronted with such huge and apparently insuperable difficulties as was Dr. Charles Tupper. None would have had the nerve and resolution to attempt what he achieved, and to his indomitable will and great force of character we owe the birth of a nation on July 1st, 1867, and not at a later, and, perhaps, fatally late, date, when the acquisition of a priceless North-West might have become impossible, and the whole course of Canadian history might have been diverted into other and less favourable channels.

It is not necessary to dwell upon the methods by which Dr. Tupper got a majority in the Assembly of Nova Scotia to vote for his far-reaching resolution. Suffice it to say that his vigilance never ceased, that every influence which it was possible to exert was exerted without stint or reserve to overcome the fears and scruples of a timid Assembly. Some of his followers were inexorable to the end and voted against it; but he secured enough for his purpose. It is not necessary to affirm that all these influences were addressed solely to the judgment and conscience of the men with whom he was dealing. Tupper never made pretence of nice scruples; to reach the goal was his supreme object. He had at his command twelve prospective Senatorships and other large patronage, of which it is quite probable he made use. He had the active co-operation of the newly-appointed Lieutenant-Governor, Sir William Fenwick Williams, the hero of Kars and a native of Nova Scotia, and, in the end, secured the defeat of the amendment (18 to 31), and immediately afterwards the adoption of his own resolution (31 to 19). Thus Confederation was achieved. It only remained to appoint delegates to London to meet with those from Canada and New Brunswick to frame the British North America Act, secure the introduction and passage of that measure by the Imperial Parliament, and the issue of Her Majesty's proclamation. The Nova

Scotia delegates to London were the same as at Quebec, except that Mr. John W. Ritchie, recently appointed Solicitor-General, was substituted for Mr. R. B. Dickey.

Confederation had been rejected by the legislatures of both Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland, and these provinces were not further considered in the proceedings looking to the passage of the British North America Act.

The necessary absence of Dr. Tupper and the other chief friends of Confederation in England during the autumn of 1866 and the winter of 1866-67 gave their opponents the advantage in preparing for the Federal and Provincial elections which would have to be held in Nova Scotia in 1867. Public meetings were called to protest against the scheme and agitation was resorted to in every form. A league was formed in Halifax and money raised to send Messrs. Howe and Hugh McDonald to London to oppose the passage of the British North America Act, or to make its adoption subject to the approval of the people. It is undoubtedly a fact that the refusal of the Government to submit the measure to the people was a potent source of irritation. It enabled Howe to recall the old struggle for popular rights, and the cry that the people had been "sold to Canada" against their will proved everywhere effective. During the session of 1867, when Tupper was again upon the scene, the subject of Confederation was brought up in different forms and incendiary debates took place. Provision had to be made for adjusting the Government and representation of the province to the conditions of a local Assembly under the Federal system. On July 1st, when the British North America Act was proclaimed, Tupper stepped down from the official life of Nova Scotia, and a provincial government was formed under Messrs. Hiram Blanchard, Attorney-General, and P. C. Hill, Provincial Secretary.

When Sir John Macdonald was called upon to form the first Federal Cabinet, he naturally summoned Tupper to become one of the Ministers for Nova Scotia, and he left with him the choice of a colleague. Dr. Tupper selected Mr. Archibald, and these gentlemen left for Ottawa the latter part of June. The story of the complications attending the formation of this first administration has been often told. The trouble arose in Quebec. The number of Ministers was fixed at thirteen, to be apportioned as follows: five from Ontario, four from Quebec, two from Nova Scotia and two from New Brunswick. Sir Georges E. Cartier and his friends demanded three French Cabinet Ministers. As D'Arcy McGee, one of the ablest and most deserving champions of Confederation, was slated for a seat as a representative of the Irish Catholics of Canada, this would either preclude the presence of a Minister representing the English of Quebec or necessitate another Minister from Ontario. As Ontario had long chafed under equal representation with Quebec, while its population had become much greater, it was essential at that moment that it should have a larger representation in the Government. Sir John Macdonald thought, and rightly, that thirteen was an amply large Ministry and that severe public criticism would be offered to a larger number. As an English representative from Quebec was essential Mr. McGee's appointment became impossible if three French members were to be chosen from the Province. Days passed in a hopeless endeavour to patch up a truce, but the feeling became more acute as time went on until, with bitterness of spirit, Sir John Macdonald had about concluded that he must abandon the task and advise the Governor-General to send for Mr. George Brown, his bitter rival. Two Liberals who had been in the coalition had been induced by Sir John Macdonald to stand with him in declining to accept Mr. Brown's dictum that, Confederation having been accomplished, the coalition was at an end, and that all those who had accepted office for that purpose should return at once to the Liberal fold. These two men, Messrs. William McDougall and William Pearce (afterwards Sir William) Howland, were to have portfolios in Sir John's administration. They at last became satisfied that the effort to reconcile matters must prove ineffectual and one morning they went to Sir John and announced that they would leave him. They took the ground "that they could not carry Ontario unless that Province, owing to the larger population, secured a larger cabinet representation than the sister province".[1] At this critical moment, Tupper entered the room and at once scouted the idea of failure. He said that he had seen Mr. McGee and had induced him for the sake of peace to join with him in an act of self-effacement. Both would retire and, in place of Tupper, Mr. Edward (afterwards Sir Edward) Kenny of Nova Scotia, a worthy representative of the Irish Catholics, would enter the Government with Mr. Archibald. This generous proposal was accepted and the new Cabinet at once announced. It must be remembered that Tupper took this step of self-abnegation before the elections had been held and when he had reason to believe that he and his party had a fighting chance of winning in Nova Scotia. He might fairly regard himself as having contributed more to securing Confederation than any other public man in Canada, and no one would dispute that in ability he was surpassed by no man available for a Cabinet position. It must, therefore, be regarded as one of the most striking instances of a "self-denying ordinance"—to use the language of Commonwealth times—in our political history.

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[1] Tupper, Sir Charles: *Recollections of Sixty Years in Canada*, p. 53.

The next ordeal was the election. Tupper went back to Nova Scotia in the middle of July to find a hot campaign in full swing. Howe had traversed the Province and addressed large meetings in nearly every leading town. Anti-Confederate candidates were in the field in every constituency both for the provincial Legislature and for the House of Commons. Day by day the newspapers were emitting violent and inflammatory diatribes, and excitement and bitterness prevailed unexampled in the political history of Nova Scotia. Into the work of rallying his party and stemming the tide, Tupper threw himself with all his might. He held no office, but he overshadowed completely in public regard those who did. He organized his forces, confronted Howe upon the public platform, proclaimed the advantages of Confederation and justified boldly the methods by which it had been accomplished. But, after a time, his attention had to be concentrated upon his own constituency, Cumberland. Annand was chosen as the standard-bearer of the anti-Confederate party, and, so intense was the desire to destroy Tupper, that wealthy men of Halifax subscribed large sums to accomplish his defeat. But he was not without friends who lent financial assistance, and it has been said that he mortgaged and hypothecated everything he possessed to raise means to meet the desperate situation. The result is now a matter of history. Of the nineteen seats which Nova

Scotia had been assigned in the House of Commons, eighteen were carried by the anti-Confederates, some by acclamation, most of the others by immense majorities. Tupper alone survived by a narrow majority of ninety, and it would not be going too far to say that no other man in Nova Scotia could have secured election under similar conditions. Mr. Archibald, Secretary of State, went down, and Howe, who sat for Hants, could contemplate a victory as complete as ever a political leader enjoyed. In the Provincial contest the anti-Confederates carried thirty-six of the thirty-eight seats and one of the two successful Confederation candidates owed his election to Tupper's efforts in Cumberland.

Hopeless as the situation seemed, Tupper's election in Cumberland was a matter of great importance, as events showed. His presence in the House of Commons during the two first sessions proved an immense and determining factor. One would expect a man so overwhelmed by popular condemnation to have been the victim of discouragement and despair. With the triumphant shouts of a populace intoxicated with its own phenomenal success and embittered by his part in the consummation of Confederation—probably beyond recall,—with popular clamour filling the air and loading him for weeks with every form of insult and opprobrium, most men would have sought retirement, and striven to induce forgetfulness by humility and self-effacement. No one observed any indications of such a disposition on the part of Dr. Tupper. His first word to his friends after the overwhelming defeat was an exhortation to courage and hope, and no one who had followed his fortunes had occasion to fear that his cause was lost. In the columns of the *Colonist* he proclaimed that the triumphant party would be utterly powerless even to disturb the fabric of Confederation. Under the coat-of-arms of Sir Charles Tupper are the words *L'espoir est ma force*. Hope ever sustained him and never more than on this occasion. But he was ever ready to put forth all his strength to achieve his hope. As one of his biographers has said, the words might fittingly be "reversed and made to read: *La force est mon espoir*."

The first session of the first House of Commons met on November 7th, 1867. The Speech from the Throne was read, the reply moved and seconded. In this assembly sat the triumphant Howe with his seventeen supporters flushed with success. After the mover and the seconder had finished, Howe was on his feet to present the case of Nova Scotia, where a Repeal movement had already been flamingly inaugurated. Howe spoke eloquently and with excellent taste and reserve and made a good impression upon a House not in sympathy with his aim. The moment he resumed his seat Tupper was upon his feet, and whoever expected a mild and apologetic attitude on the part of one whose party had so recently experienced annihilation was disappointed. With undaunted manner he claimed that a majority of the intelligence and wealth of the Province was in favour of the Union and boldly averred that in a short time the temporary verdict would be reversed. He laughed at the proposals of the Repealers and exposed Howe's inconsistencies. It was a note, not of timid apprehension, but of supreme confidence, and its echo reaching Nova Scotia put fresh hope and courage into the heart of every one of his followers.

Dr. Tupper was out of political employment after July 7th, 1867, but his value as a political factor was recognized by Sir John Macdonald and by all the leading men of the Unionist party. Mr. Archibald's defeat in Colchester opened the way for Tupper's entry into the Cabinet. The acute political situation called for the presence of a man familiar with conditions in Nova Scotia; but Dr. Tupper declared in the most emphatic manner that he would never enter the Cabinet until he had behind him in the House of Commons a majority of the members representing Nova Scotia. This resolve, which required moral courage, was dictated by wisdom. He saw that events each day were playing into his hands and that it would place him in an exceptionally strong position to enter the Cabinet supported by a majority of the members elected to destroy him. Naturally

Sir John had a strong feeling that some lucrative and honourable position should be placed at Dr. Tupper's disposal—something that would enable him to remain in the active sphere of politics, and reward him for his great exertions in the accomplishment of Confederation. As the Government was soon to begin the construction of the Intercolonial Railway and the method of doing this had already been determined, namely, by the appointment of a Board of Commissioners, it occurred to Sir John Macdonald that it would be fitting to offer Dr. Tupper the Chairmanship of the Board. At first Tupper was disposed to accept this important post, especially as it could be arranged that this office would not be incompatible with his retaining his seat in the House of Commons. But events occurred which caused him to change his mind.

The Repeal Government of Nova Scotia sent a delegation to London in the early part of 1868 to endeavour to obtain a repeal of the Act of Union. It was felt by the Federal Government that some man or men should be sent to England to counteract any efforts in this direction, especially as Mr. Howe was at the head of the Repeal delegation. Dr. Tupper and Sir A. T. Galt were chosen for this purpose, but the latter, while first agreeing to serve, after his appointment was announced declined to act because Dr. Tupper was associated on the delegation. He was no doubt the victim of the prevalent idea that, on account of his recent defeat and the intense bitterness of the Repeal party against him, Dr. Tupper's appointment would only add fuel to the flame which the friends of Union in the Upper Provinces were anxious, by soothing measures, to extinguish. There may have been another reason why Galt refused to serve with Tupper. In a letter written in London on April 9th, 1868, by Dr. Tupper to Sir John Macdonald are the words: "I think I have ascertained Mr. Galt's difficulty in coming with me. General Doyle tells me that Howe and his friends confidently relied upon Galt effecting with them the overthrow of your Government, and I assume Mr. Galt was too deeply committed to present himself in London with me to counteract Mr. Howe's efforts." The moment Tupper was informed of the attitude of Galt he went to Sir John and stated that Galt would be of no assistance to him in London. He would go alone, and he intimated, at the same time, that the avowed determination not to enter the Government until he had the support of a majority of Nova Scotia members should apply to employment of any kind under the Government. He would not accept a place on the Railway Commission. Sir John had the sagacity to accept Tupper's view that he would be the most effective agent in London, and his selection was from every point of view the most suitable which could have been made. A vote of censure upon the Government for this action was subsequently proposed in the House by Dr. Parker, an Opposition member, and led to much debate. Among other notable speeches upon this resolution was that of D'Arcy McGee, his last public utterance, his murder occurring a few minutes after the adjournment of the House. But the vote did not carry. No man as well versed in every phase of the situation as Dr. Tupper could have been found, and, in spite of the alleged bitterness against him, he was able not only utterly to defeat any efforts to secure even a consideration of Repeal in either branch of the Imperial Parliament, but, what was still more important, to approach the great leader of the movement—his life-long opponent—and lay the foundation for his abandonment of the Repeal cause.

To apprehend Tupper's action at this important epoch it will be necessary to refer somewhat to Mr. Howe's actual position. Having determined to embark on the anti-Confederate crusade in Nova Scotia, it was essential to put forth every effort to secure success at the polls. But the magnitude of that success was beyond his calculation. Mr. Howe, when he dedicated his talents to the destruction of the Quebec Scheme, was firmly convinced that the result of the first New Brunswick election would be to make Confederation impossible before the election of 1867.

Neither he nor any other man, however sagacious, could have foreseen that within a year the anti-Confederate Government in New Brunswick would have been ignominiously overthrown and a popular verdict in favour of Union obtained. If Howe could have defeated Tupper's Government in 1867 before Confederation was consummated, he would then have held the cards in his own hand and would probably have acquiesced in a scheme of union different only in terms from that ultimately adopted. But events followed too rapidly, and, through Tupper's dogged determination and political adroitness, the scheme was consummated beyond recall, with Nova Scotia a partner, before the elections came on. Howe invoked popular sentiment to punish the men who had fastened the yoke upon the Province, and in this he was only too successful. On September 18th he woke up to find a popular demon of disunion enthroned in supreme power, and the populace inflamed by passion and beyond his control. Whatever he thought of the situation, the mass of voters who had achieved this notable victory believed that their triumph meant a repeal of the Union, and nothing would appease their misguided zeal but the most extreme measures. A provincial government had been formed thoroughly imbued with these views and prepared to carry matters to any extremity in furtherance of this desperate purpose.

No one can pretend to penetrate Mr. Howe's mind, but few, recognizing his long experience in public affairs, his familiarity with the sentiments of both parties in Great Britain, and his great sagacity, could be made to believe that he seriously expected to accomplish anything by a madcap movement for the disruption of the Union. But what could he do? He was the popular idol. He had eloquently urged the people to the very course which they had adopted and it was impossible to declare boldly, in the midst of their enthusiastic shouts of victory, that the spectre he had called into being was nothing but a flimsy bogey, and to tell them to stay their hand. His only course was to head the movement and make the best fight possible, which undoubtedly he did, but he unquestionably knew he was beating the wind and that his efforts would end in blank failure.

Howe reached London first and Wm. Annand, J. C. Troop, and H. W. Smith, his Repeal co-delegates, soon followed. By repeated conferences with leading men of both political parties Howe had become fairly convinced that nothing could be accomplished. Then Tupper reached London and his first step was to seek an interview with Howe. It was a dramatic meeting. Since 1855 these two men had been engaged in unbroken conflict of fierce and unmitigated bitterness. Across the House they had flung offensive epithets and the language had been taxed to supply terms of invective. Both were past-masters in the art of vituperation. They were fresh from a hard-fought political contest in which, to all appearance, Howe was triumphant and Tupper annihilated; and yet, within six months after the election, Tupper was entering Howe's room in London in a position to take a dominant tone, and, as they stood face to face, he could with justice say: "Mr. Howe, you recently carried the popular vote of Nova Scotia by an overwhelming majority, while I was left without a follower; but at this moment my position is stronger than yours. You are endeavouring to destroy a great work of statesmanship and will fail; I am here to uphold that Act and behind me to-day is a majority of the intelligence and wealth of Nova Scotia. Every day will serve to weaken your position while vindicating mine. It is I, not you, that have the real power at this moment, because I have behind me the moral power of right, and can look forward with confidence to the judgment of history."

That is not precisely what he did say, but not improbably what both thought. It is an accurate epitome of the situation.

What Tupper did say was: "Mr. Howe, you are here to obtain a repeal of the Union. You will fail and you know you will fail. What then? Do you propose to disturb the country by a fruitless agitation which can only result in bitter feeling, the paralysis of business and, perhaps, in rebellion? Or will you accept the situation and devote your great talents and immense influence towards securing the successful working of Confederation, and help to build up a great nation in British North America?"

Every great situation in human affairs calls for the guiding hand of the capable man; when he is found, all goes well; when he comes not, confusion and anarchy result. What man in all Canada other than Tupper would have been equal to such an occasion? Only a strong man would have conceived the expedient of going direct to the master of the Repeal forces, and even he would not have ventured on this step if he had not known that he was to appeal to a broad and liberal mind. Such actions are only possible between the great.

From the moment of this memorable meeting Repeal was broken. Howe gave no definite assurances, but Tupper knew that he was weakening in his opposition to Confederation. When they met, Howe exclaimed: "Well, I can't say that I am glad to see you, but we have to make the best of it." And immediately after their meeting Tupper wrote to Sir John that he had no doubt "Howe would become a member of his Cabinet." The effort to secure even consideration of Repeal failed to receive a decent following in either branch of the Imperial Parliament. The Repeal delegation and Dr. Tupper returned to Canada in June on the same steamer and landed in Halifax. Tupper went straight to Ottawa and thence to Toronto to meet Sir John Macdonald and induce him to go with some of his colleagues to Halifax to meet Howe and confer with the Repealers; and go he did in August. The conference with the Repeal leaders resulted in nothing, could not possibly have resulted in anything, because the control of the Repeal movement was vested in the provincial Government, which believed its political existence depended upon keeping up the agitation, whether it would accomplish anything or not; but the visit did result in a meeting between Sir John and Mr. Howe, and, after some correspondence, in another meeting at Portland between Mr. Howe and Mr. McLelan on the one side and the Minister of Finance on the other, at which better terms for Nova Scotia were agreed upon. Thence Mr. Howe went to Ottawa and soon after entered the Government of Sir John Macdonald; but the circumstances impelling him to take this step do not belong to this history.

Mr. Howe's acceptance of office made necessary his re-election in Hants county. The Repealers, galled to desperation by his defection, put a candidate in the field and determined to secure his defeat by any and every means in their power. The county was flooded with campaign speakers and money was expended without limit. In the midst of this contest Howe suffered physical collapse and was confined for some days to his bed; indeed, he never fully recovered his health and powers. Dr. Tupper avoided any part in the election. Mr. Howe's election depended on his obtaining the vote of a number of anti-Confederates linked with Howe's earlier career, and it was feared that Tupper's presence might stir up the old animosities. But when Dr. Tupper was informed of Mr. Howe's illness he went secretly to his bedside and told him to be of good cheer. He believed that Howe would carry Hants, despite the desperate efforts to defeat him, but if not, he himself would instantly resign his seat in Cumberland, where he could assure Mr. Howe of his election.

"But what will you do?" Mr. Howe naturally enquired.

"My course is determined. Mr. Pineo will resign his seat in the provincial House and I will pay my respects to the Repeal Government of Nova Scotia."

Mr. Howe was handsomely elected in Hants and this programme did not become necessary. The election came off in April, 1869, one year and a half after the great anti-Confederation sweep in Nova Scotia. It is interesting to note how matters had developed in this short space of time. In September, 1867, Tupper had not a follower from Nova Scotia in the Commons. In April, 1869, Howe was a member of the Confederate Government, while McKeagney of Cape Breton and Stewart Campbell of Guysboro had long before dissociated themselves from the Repeal party and announced their intention of upholding the Union. Mr. A. W. McLelan of Colchester, Mr. E. M. Macdonald of Lunenburg, Mr. Hugh Macdonald of Antigonish, Mr. L. DeV. Chipman of Kings, and Mr. A. W. Savary of Digby had given their adhesion to the Dominion Government. In the course of the session Messrs. Ray of Annapolis, Coffin of Shelburne, Forbes of Queens, Ross of Victoria, and Dr. Cameron of Inverness were giving the Government a general support. Only Messrs. Jones and Power of Halifax and Carmichael of Pictou could be regarded as still in avowed sympathy with the provincial Repeal Government and hostile to the Canadian Government. Killam of Yarmouth and LeVesconte of Richmond had uncertain affiliations. Before another year had gone by a majority of the Nova Scotia members waited on Sir John Macdonald and urged that Dr. Tupper be taken into the Cabinet. They plainly intimated that Tupper's presence was necessary in the interests of their province. Mr. Kenny was not an active politician and Mr. Howe from age and ill-health was not the alert political leader of former days. This was exactly according to Sir John's desire. Mr. Kenny was induced to accept the position of administrator of the Government of Nova Scotia, with knighthood, and on the 21st day of June, 1871, Dr. Tupper, with the Nova Scotia delegation nearly solidly behind him, entered the Cabinet as President of the Council.

Between his return from London in 1868 and his acceptance of office in 1870, Dr. Tupper was dependent upon his own resources for his livelihood. He resumed his medical practice at Ottawa and soon obtained a place in the front rank of his profession, his income from this source, in spite of the distraction of political duties, amply sufficing for all his needs.

CHAPTER IV

IN OFFICE (1870-1872)

DR. TUPPER'S first portfolio offered little scope for the exercise of executive ability, but in 1872 he was transferred to the Department of Inland Revenue and a year later to that of Customs. But whether discharging important departmental duties or not, he was at all times alert in political matters, in complete command of the political situation in his own province, and was also the most vigorous exponent and defender of the Government policy in Parliament and in the country. No member of the Cabinet more fully commanded the confidence of Sir John Macdonald. This is distinctly observable on the occasion of Sir John's absence in Washington in 1871, during the negotiation of the Washington Treaty. Sir Georges É. Cartier was Sir John's chief lieutenant and, during his absence, acting-Premier and leader of the House, and one of the most important political figures in the Government; yet, at this critical time, when problems difficult to solve were constantly presenting themselves, Sir John, while not ignoring or slighting Cartier or his other colleagues, poured out from day to day his whole confidence in correspondence with Dr. Tupper.

One extract from these letters will serve to show the character of this correspondence and the relationship which at this time existed between Sir John and Dr. Tupper. On April 1st, Sir John wrote:

"I must say that I am greatly disappointed at the course taken by the British Commissioners. They seem to have only one thing on their minds —that is, to go home to England with a treaty in their pockets, settling everything, no matter at what cost to Canada. I was at first a good deal encouraged, because both Northcote and Bernard stood by me against any permanent cession of the fisheries, but the four have since gone together against me. It is, therefore, exceedingly unfortunate that Sir Stafford is on the Commission, as his party in England will feel themselves a good deal fettered in Parliament by his action, and will be unable to defend the position which Canada will certainly take. The effect which must be produced on the public mind in Canada by a declaration from both parties in the Imperial Parliament against our course, will greatly prejudice the idea of British connection, as British protection will have proved itself a farce. I do not like to look at the consequences, but we are so clearly in the right, that we must throw the responsibility on England."

Sir John felt that the judgment of his Nova Scotia colleague was most to be relied upon and that his political instincts were the most acute. Tupper was a natural politician. He had, too, a firm self-reliance—a confidence in his own power to apprehend a problem and meet a situation without the weakling's necessity of seeking the opinion of others who understood the situation far less clearly.

The negotiations at Washington kept Sir John from his place in the House for the greater part of two sessions, and the untoward results which naturally follow from prolonged absence of the leader have a striking illustration in the ludicrous outcome of an attempt, in 1870, to change the fiscal policy. Dr. Tupper must be placed among the very first of Canadian public men who conceived and advocated a national fiscal policy. Confederation very closely followed the abrogation in 1866 of the Treaty of Reciprocity with the United States. It had become almost an article of faith in Canada that reciprocal trade with the United States was essential to the commercial welfare of all the provinces, and steps had been taken by all to secure some form of a renewal. A great convention of Boards-of-Trade, both of the United States and of Canada, had been held in Detroit in 1866 in order to create a volume of sentiment in favour of closer and more liberal terms of trade between the two countries. It must be remembered that Canada had not then obtained an actual national status, nor did it command the same interest and respect among American public men to which it has since attained. The union of 1867 made little impression at the time upon American opinion. The "British colonies to the North" was the half-contemptuous way in which Americans then spoke of Canada. Very soon after Confederation, the struggle to obtain reciprocity, which had been initiated by the several provinces, was transferred to the Federal authorities, and every member of parliament was ready to urge definite action upon this burning question. Early in the session of 1870 Mr. L. S. Huntington brought forward a proposition for a commercial union or zollverein, which, though solemnly debated, was finally rejected by a large majority, notwithstanding that it had the support of men like Galt, Blake, Mackenzie, Holton, and Dorion. Later in the session Sir Francis Hincks, Minister of Finance, made in his budget speech certain proposals for increasing the tariff, necessitated, he declared, by the financial demands of the country upon the treasury, and he added impositions upon certain articles hitherto free, such as coal, coke, flour, and meal. These proposals naturally provoked prolonged discussions. The majority of the members of the House, and even of the Government, were deplorably ignorant in respect of financial matters. The tendency was to consider the political results of an act, rather than the economic.

In consequence there was much confusion of thought and much hesitancy of action on the part of most members. In the midst of the discussion there was one clear note heard, and that note was uttered by Tupper—not then in the Cabinet. He declared boldly that the time had passed for seeking commercial salvation in American complacency. We should now, he said, adopt our own fiscal policy, designed to develop our natural resources and build up our own industries. Instead of a policy of subserviently placing our reliance on American reciprocity we should adopt a national policy that would make Canadians masters of their own economic affairs.

"But this country," he said, during the debate on this question, "is so geographically situated, and so varied in its products and natural resources, that nature has placed it in our power to protect ourselves by a policy not retaliatory or vindictive, but by a national policy which shall encourage the industries of this country. By proper attention to the development of our resources, we shall have an interchange of products, and in two years I believe we shall be utterly indifferent as to whether we have a treaty or not. . . .

"I would ask whether the policy which will bring the people into the country, which will stimulate every industry in the Dominion, is not one that is worthy of the attention of this House, irrespective and regardless altogether of its effect upon the United States: and I have no hesitation in saying, that under the effects of a policy such as this, that would restore greater prosperity in this country than we had under reciprocity, we shall not need to go to other countries or to the United States for a renewal of reciprocity or improved trade relations, because they will be coming and seeking it at our hands. . . .

"Is it not worth while to try and see how far we may increase these native enterprises, and give prosperity to the country, by adopting a policy which will meet the unfair opposition by which the Canadian manufacturer is met from other countries? . . .

"My honourable friend the Secretary for the Provinces [Hon. A. G. Archibald] has relieved his mind to some extent, but I may tell him that this Canadian policy—this national policy—this rational policy—will stimulate the enterprise of all the Provinces, and will aid and assist in building up this great Dominion. And I may further tell the honourable gentleman that so friendly is Nova Scotia to this policy of building up our own interests that there has not been one single newspaper out of the eleven newspapers published in Halifax that has raised any objection to it, and several have come out warmly in its support."

The tendency of the moment was to sneer at this proposal. The Opposition press treated it with ridicule and members on both sides of the

House meeting in the lobbies accosted each other with the phrase, "How are you, National Policy?" Doubts prevailed as to whether such a change in the tariff was sound in principle or likely to be popular. By most men it was accepted as a temporary expedient, but Tupper believed in it and desired that it should foreshadow and represent a distinct line of policy. In the end, Sir Francis Hincks' proposals carried the day, and the duties on coal and flour went through as a necessary measure of revenue.

The next session, 1871, Sir Francis Hincks was able to announce a large addition to the revenue and a handsome surplus. In the light of this the Government, he said, would remit the higher rate of Customs duty imposed the previous year, but would retain the duty on coal, flour, and vegetables. As a justification for this action he spoke of the meeting of the Joint Commission at Washington and intimated that it might weaken the hands of the Canadian representative to have these duties removed at the very moment he was endeavouring to secure a measure of reciprocal trade with our neighbours. This did not satisfy the Liberal leaders or Sir A. T. Galt, and an amendment was proposed by Mr. L. H. Holton to strike off the duties on coal and flour. It was announced emphatically by the Government that it could not accept this amendment at that time; but, in the course of the debate, member after member on the ministerial side declared that he could not support these duties, and it looked as if the Government might be defeated on a division.

At this crucial moment Dr. Tupper was in the Government and his hands in a measure tied. If he had been an independent member he would have been able to fight in the open for his principles, and he would probably have compelled a test of the sense of the House. His position was rendered more awkward from the fact that Sir John Macdonald, who was in sympathy with his policy, and whose voice was potent to command the adherence of his supporters, was absent. The members of the Government were alarmed by the opposition which their proposals had evoked, and, without being advised of the secrets of the Cabinet, it is not difficult to imagine Dr. Tupper using every artifice known to him to induce his colleagues to make a firm stand and to take measures to bring any recalcitrant supporters into line. But the majority of the ministers were timid and yielded to the counsels of fear. A supporter of the Government was induced to move as an amendment to the amendment, that coal, flour, and vegetables be placed in the free list. This was accepted, and the National Policy adopted with heroic zeal in 1870 was ignominiously dropped in 1871. This action gave the impression that the National Policy was dead, and doomed never to rise again. But a few years told quite another story, and as a measure of justice to Dr. Tupper it must be recorded that he was the first responsible public man in Canada to urge upon the people the necessity for a Canadian or National Policy, and that during the period which elapsed before that policy was accepted by the country he was its constant, bold, and undaunted champion. In all his efforts he was seconded by Sir John Macdonald, who by 1876 had gradually come to see that, under the unfortunate conditions of the business world, it was the policy most likely to draw powerful support. In Mr. C. C. Colby, too, the policy of protection found an intelligent and persistent advocate, but no name can be placed before Tupper's in according whatever credit or glory belongs to the introduction of a policy of protection to Canadian industries.

It is not necessary to relate in detail the political events of the first year or so of Tupper's connection with the Cabinet. The most important was the admission of British Columbia to the Federal Union in 1871. The Bill bringing about this important step in the development of Canada was submitted to Parliament by Sir Georges É. Cartier and carried through under his guidance in the absence of Sir John, but Tupper was foremost in its support, and exercised a wholesome influence in keeping the party forces together and preventing those manifestations of weakness and dissension which are apt to result from the temporary absence of the real leader. If any member of the Opposition thought that he could trifle with Sir Georges É. Cartier he had no such idea in respect of Tupper, who sat in his place in the Commons with stern face and closely pressed lips, ready, at the instant, to pounce upon any one who should venture upon too bold a challenge of the policy of the Government.

In the early days of Confederation the Government of Canada had to deal with a provincial government in Nova Scotia, not only at enmity politically with the Dominion administration but also hostile to Confederation itself. The immediate responsibility of dealing with this unfriendly Government devolved in a large measure upon the Cabinet ministers representing Nova Scotia. Among the measures proposed by that Government to eliminate federal interference in provincial affairs was one submitted in 1871 disqualifying Dominion officials from exercising the franchise in provincial elections. The wisdom and justice of this measure, (which became law but, fortunately, was afterwards repealed) it is not necessary to discuss, and it is mentioned here merely because it incidentally has to do with the life story of Dr. Tupper. The ground urged in its defence was that the Government of Canada was hostile to the Provincial Government, and that its officials, being under the undue influence of such Government would always exercise their influence against the provincial administration. The Bill, of course, passed the Assembly, but the Legislative Council was still pretty evenly divided politically, and it was to that body the opponents of the Provincial Government looked for its defeat. Although the Opposition was scarcely represented in the Assembly, there was still a large party under Tupper's lead outside the House which was active in its efforts to weaken and destroy the Repeal Government of Nova Scotia. The Hon. James McNab was a member of the Legislative Council and generally supposed to be in political sympathy with the Provincial Government, but as he was a brother-in-law of Mr. Howe, there appears to have arisen some doubt as to his political attitude. Some of the leading supporters of the Federal Government in Halifax conceived a means of securing the vote of Mr. McNab against the disfranchising Bill. He had an idle son on his hands, and the plan was that in consideration of the boy getting an office from the Dominion Government, the father would oppose the Bill. A telegram was prepared in Halifax and sent to Dr. Tupper, signed by one of his leading friends, asking him if an office could be found for the son if his father would go right on the Franchise Act. This presented a strong temptation to Dr. Tupper, as he naturally felt a profound interest in thwarting the efforts of the Provincial Government. After the defeat of all the Unionist candidates in Halifax it had been arranged that Mr. P. C. Hill should be the general adviser of the Federal Government in the distribution of patronage in the city and county. When he received this telegram, it was open to Dr. Tupper to reply simply that he and the Dominion Government could not be a party to any such arrangement. This would have been the lofty and high-minded course to have adopted; but it was not the line likely to be followed by any politician in such circumstances. It would have constituted a discouraging snub to warm friends who were actively devoting their best energies to their party's interests, and was not to be seriously thought of. But he did not answer that such an office would be given. He disposed of the matter precisely as if it were an ordinary case of patronage. His reply to the telegram was: "Anything that Hill undertakes to do, I will undertake to carry out." This was equivalent to saying: "Mr. Hill is the adviser of the Government in matters of patronage in Halifax County. If he recommends Peter for an official position, the Government will give effect to his recommendation."

The Provincial Government and its friends raised a great clamour over this transaction, and with good grounds. It was most discreditable for leading and responsible men to seek to influence the vote of a Legislative Councillor by securing an office for his son, and the reputations of most of those concerned were somewhat damaged by their action. But, of course, the chief aim was to involve Tupper adversely in the affair, and in this his opponents were not wholly successful. The matter was brought up in the session of 1871 in the Dominion Parliament by Mr. Mackenzie, who moved a vote of censure on Dr. Tupper. He made a very good case in respect to the general outlines of the transaction and animadverted with great force and severity upon the conduct of the principal parties concerned; but with these the House had nothing to do. It was Tupper's conduct that was impugned. When thus challenged Tupper sprang to his feet and, with flashing eye and thundering voice, entered upon his defence. After his usual method, when on doubtful ground, he devoted most of his address to a bitter attack on his opponents. He carried the war into Africa. He contrasted his course in striving to build up the Dominion with the disloyal and narrow policy of the Nova Scotia Repealers, and charged Mr. Mackenzie and his friends with identifying themselves with these would-be wreckers of Confederation.

Most men thus assailed personally would appeal to the party instincts of their followers for a vindication: Dr. Tupper absolutely disclaimed such a puerile course, as will be clearly seen from an extract from a report of his speech.

"He stood in this House making no suppliant appeal to the followers of the Government to support him. He absolved the Government and he absolved his supporters from any claim. He was unwilling to put the question on any such narrow ground as that. It had never been his position as a man or as a member of an administration. For sixteen years he had served his native province as a public man, and he left the legislature of the province without a single stain on his character, without a single political crime against him except that of fighting the battle of Confederation. He had resigned his position as leader of the Government and thrown himself into the hands of the people. He stood there in the presence of his countrymen without an act which could touch his character as a man or his political honour. He stood in the same position here to-night. The motion of the honourable member for Lambton might be carried, but it would not touch the Government. It would touch him and him alone. It would place him on a seat as an independent member, untrammelled by any consideration except serving in the best manner the best interests of the Union. Let every honourable member in this House deliver his condemnation if he thought it a duty he owed to this parliament and his conscience. He (Dr. Tupper) as an independent member of this House would be able to give the Government his support as well in such a position as under any other circumstance. . . .

"Having spent the prime of his life in constant and unqualified exertion to build up the interests of his country, he placed himself unreservedly, not in the hands of the honourable members who supported the Government, but unreservedly in the hands of the honourable members on the other side of the House. . . .

"He should much prefer to be an independent member of this House, and, if it were the unbiassed judgment of the honourable members sitting on both sides of the House that he had been guilty of anything which rendered it improper that he should remain any longer a Minister of the Crown, he would retire to an independent bench. He was alone responsible for his own act, and, if it were necessary, he could retire into private life with the proud conviction that, regardless of party, he had thrown his best energies into the work of Confederation, and striven, in whatever position he had been placed, in such a manner as was best calculated to carry out the union of the provinces, and he should retire into private life with the satisfaction of knowing that his efforts, humble though they had been, had assisted in placing this country in a position higher than it ever would have occupied without Confederation."

The vote of censure was defeated by a large majority, and in this majority were many of the formerly inveterate anti-Confederate members of Nova Scotia.

The general elections of 1872 imposed a serious responsibility upon Dr. Tupper in respect of political management. Strictly speaking, Nova Scotia was represented by a body of anti-Confederates and Repealers elected to destroy Confederation, but this body had soon begun to show signs of disintegration. Mr. McKeagney, the representative of Cape Breton, was the first to desert and Mr. Stewart Campbell of Guysboro followed soon after. Then Mr. Howe entered the Government and several Nova Scotia members at once identified themselves with the Unionist party. These included Mr. McDonald of Antigonish, Mr. Savary of Digby, Mr. E. M. MacDonald of Lunenburg, Mr. L. DeV. Chipman of Kings, and Mr. LeVesconte of Richmond. Messrs. Jones and Power of Halifax and Carmichael of Pictou were openly and avowedly in sympathy with the provincial Government and hostile to the Government of the Dominion. There remained Messrs. Coffin of Shelburne, Forbes of Queens, Ray of Annapolis, Pearson of Colchester, Cameron of Inverness, and Ross of Victoria, who had given the Government a general support on all occasions, and had acquired by this course the privilege of advising the Government in the bestowal of patronage in their respective counties. What course was Tupper to take in respect of these men? It could not be said that any of them had openly identified themselves with the Unionist party. While generally voting with the Government in the House, they had still kept up relations with their political associates in the counties they represented, and many of the favours which they were permitted to bestow went to their own political friends rather than to Tupper's. But they had stood behind Tupper in all kinds of stress, and in defiance of angry criticism of their conduct by the leading organs of the anti-Confederate party in Nova Scotia. In these circumstances, it was difficult for Dr. Tupper to throw them entirely over. Most of them stood a better chance of re-election than any of his Unionist friends in their constituencies. In consequence he gave all of them letters stating that they were supporters of the Government and satisfactory to him. In some of the counties affected this intimation prevented opposition and secured election by acclamation. In other counties the Unionists declined to accept Dr. Tupper's certificate, put straight Unionist candidates in the field, and in one or two instances were defeated only by a narrow majority, obtained, probably, through the influence of Tupper's letter. Later events showed that it would have been a sounder and safer policy for Dr. Tupper to have withheld his support from any Nova Scotian anti-Confederate member who would not agree to give the administration full and open support, and to have given the weight of his powerful assistance to candidates of his own party upon whose allegiance he could rely. But there was nothing then in the situation that suggested the expediency of such a course, and his action cannot now be fairly condemned because it resulted injuriously.

The general result in Nova Scotia was, on the surface, very flattering to Dr. Tupper. He secured the defeat of Messrs. Jones, Power, and Carmichael, and substituted strong Union supporters. All those Nova Scotia members who were avowedly friendly to the administration were returned, and Mr. Howe was re-elected in Hants by acclamation. Tupper's own election was easily won by over twelve hundred of a majority. In only one county was a straight opponent of the Government elected, Mr. C. E. Church of Lunenburg. Twenty out of the twenty-one seats had elected either avowed followers of the Government, or men like Messrs. Ray, Forbes, and Ross, who, in the previous parliament, had given the Government a general support. As matters went very badly in Ontario and not too favourably in Quebec, where Sir Georges É. Cartier was defeated in Montreal, the result in Nova Scotia was of great importance to the Government, and it was also specially valuable as indicating that the Repeal movement had lost its power. Dr. Tupper went back to Ottawa greatly strengthened. His victory in Nova Scotia was the most notable feature of the campaign, and gave him increased prestige in his party throughout the whole Dominion. It likewise strengthened, if this were needed, the confidence which Sir John Macdonald reposed in his ability as a public man and in his resources as a politician. This gratifying result had been obtained by none of the expedients of compromise and intrigue, which constitute not infrequently the chief stock-in-trade of the shifty politician, but by open and bold conduct. He issued an address to the electors of Nova Scotia, denouncing in no measured terms the whole policy and conduct of the Repeal party, and proclaiming, without reserve, the advantages and glories of Confederation. Nor can there be found in all his utterances one apologetic word for his course in carrying Confederation or any attempt to pander to the dominant sentiment of the people.

Notwithstanding the unfavourable result in Ontario, Sir John Macdonald took a far too roseate view of the results of the election. If nothing crucial had happened during this Parliament, it may be that the majority would have proved sufficient for the ordinary purposes of the administration, but many of the new members could not be relied upon to endure the strain of a great emergency, and among these were eight members from Nova Scotia, most of whom held their seats by favour of Dr. Tupper.

CHAPTER V

THE PACIFIC SCANDAL AND THE MACKENZIE ADMINISTRATION (1872-1878)

DR. TUPPER was not immediately identified with the first steps taken toward the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. The Department of Public Works was then administered by Mr. Hector L. Langevin, but the original negotiations in connection with this gigantic undertaking, which became a national obligation after British Columbia entered the Federal Union, were conducted by Sir John Macdonald himself, and the two Ministers most closely associated with him in these negotiations were Sir Georges É. Cartier and Sir Francis Hincks. Dr. Tupper watched the railway negotiations with that grave and intelligent interest which he bestowed upon all large political questions. That he was cordially in favour of the prompt construction of the transcontinental line is clearly revealed in his parliamentary speeches, but his immediate duties concerned the administration of Inland Revenue until early in 1873, when he became Minister of Customs. The duties of neither of these departments touched the administration of the railway affairs of the country. All matters of public concern in connection with the construction of the

Canadian Pacific Railway were fully considered in Council, and Sir John Macdonald was punctilious in consulting the members of his Cabinet fully upon all matters; but the details of negotiation were not the special concern of Dr. Tupper, and there are no grounds for supposing that he had knowledge of the famous incidents of the election campaign of 1872, with which Sir Georges É. Cartier, Sir John Macdonald, and Sir Hugh Allan were principally connected. In this he was fortunate, for he escaped the odium of a transaction which cannot be successfully defended. Sir Richard J. Cartwright in touching on this matter in his *Reminiscences* remarks: "He [Tupper] . . . had not been in any way directly connected with the Pacific Scandal as far as the evidence went."

But while Dr. Tupper was in no sense implicated in any of the transactions with Sir Hugh Allan, he remained absolutely loyal to Sir John throughout the whole trying ordeal which resulted from the disclosures regarding Sir Hugh's contributions to the Conservative campaign fund. When the matter came before the House of Commons in October, 1873, and the Government was confronted with a non-confidence resolution, moved by Mr. Mackenzie, the Opposition leader, which stood a fair chance of being adopted, not even Sir John Macdonald himself displayed equal zeal and energy in the endeavour to stay the tide which was beginning to run adversely. On the floor of the House Tupper, who followed Mackenzie, was the most vigorous and defiant defender of the administration, and in his speech designated the attack of the Opposition the "Pacific Slander". According to him the Government had done nothing wrong and the vote of want of confidence was uncalled for. He even convinced himself later that the reaction in favour of the Conservatives, which in 1878 hurled the Liberals from power, was due in part to "the real facts connected with the 'Pacific Slander' becoming known". Whatever his private thoughts may have been as to the propriety of the acts of Sir John Macdonald or the prudence of Sir Georges É. Cartier, he never betrayed the slightest disposition to visit them with reproaches, but invariably justified their conduct as dictated by patriotism and in accordance with sound moral principles. He recognized clearly that all members of the Government were in the same boat and that the essential thing was to pull together. No man during that crisis made such herculean efforts to save the situation. He was confronted by conditions which especially called for his exertions. While timid friends in all the provinces were threatening to desert in the hour of danger, in Nova Scotia the menace was widespread. Messrs. Killam, Coffin, Forbes, Ray, Pearson, MacDonnell, Ross, and McKay, all of whom had been elected with

Tupper's approval as supporters of the Government, discerned a reasonable prospect of a change of Government. All were really politically allied with the opponents of the Government in Nova Scotia. The party conventions to which they looked for nomination, and the organizations upon which they would have to depend for re-election, were composed of men who took their inspiration from the Provincial Government of Nova Scotia. The Federal members from Nova Scotia desired to hold the patronage of their counties as long as the Government was in power, and they were not averse to using this privilege to suit their own and their party's interests; but nothing would give them greater joy than the destruction of the Government and the vesting of full control in their natural political allies. By this time the Repealers of Nova Scotia had reached the stage of allying themselves politically with Mr. Mackenzie. The Liberal leader visited Nova Scotia in August, 1873, and was banqueted by the principal men of the anti-Confederate party, Mr. A. G. Jones presiding, and the members of Mr. Annand's Government sitting at the table of honour. If a new Government should reign at Ottawa, Killam and his friends in the Federal Parliament proposed to have seats in it, and to enjoy the advantages of political power in the province. Dr. Tupper used every means possible to recall them to a sense of their obligations to him, and no doubt suggested inducements to secure their support. In vain! The stars in their courses were fighting against him, and these men were gloating over the prospect of throwing off the shackles which their anomalous position had forged. They had the trying part of keeping in with the Government at Ottawa in order to secure the patronage of their counties, and at the same time of preserving their position with their party friends in Nova Scotia. When they recorded a vote at Ottawa in support of the Government on a crucial division they were compelled to exhaust their ingenuity in trying to make their peace with their friends in Nova Scotia. Instead, therefore, of twenty Nova Scotian members out of twenty-one being really staunch supporters of the Government, only twelve could be counted upon in the hour of danger. A clear defection of eight votes in any great crisis was a serious matter and quite sufficient to accomplish the downfall of the Government. Dr. Tupper's feeling toward these recalcitrant members can readily be imagined. When Mr. Howe left to assume the Lieutenant-Governorship of Nova Scotia he had called his supporters together and charged them to give Tupper the same support they had given him, and they all had cordially agreed. Now, before six months had gone by, they were foremost in getting signatures to a round robin by the members pledging their votes to Mr. Mackenzie's resolution. Time works its revenges. Tupper lived to see nearly all these men defeated in their respective constituencies and excluded from the House of Commons, and they could hope for nothing from his magnanimity after the part they took in the drama of November, 1873.

The Lieutenant-Governorship of Nova Scotia having become vacant by the expiration of Sir Hastings Doyle's term of office, Dr. Tupper was the first to suggest to Sir John Macdonald that this position should be bestowed upon Mr. Howe. Strictly speaking, it could scarcely be called a promotion, but, owing to Mr. Howe's advanced age and broken health, exacting political duties were no longer congenial, and the comparatively easy functions of the Lieutenant-Governorship would afford him, it was hoped, opportunities of recuperation. He accordingly accepted, and his place in the administration was taken by Mr. Hugh McDonald of Nova Scotia. Mr. Howe died in Government House in the early days of June, after having filled the position for only a month. This afforded Dr. Tupper an excellent opportunity for recognizing his obligations to his old party leader, Mr. Johnstone, who had retired from the Bench and was now living quietly in the south of France. No doubt this act was an extremely pleasant one to Dr. Tupper. Although past eighty years of age, Mr. Johnstone accepted the position and started for Nova Scotia, but died in England on his homeward journey. Again the Lieutenant-Governorship became vacant, and some friends of Dr. Tupper suggested that, having now disposed of all those who had prior claims, he might fairly accept the position himself. He instantly repudiated the possibility of any such arrangement, remarking, it is alleged, that he would as soon think of keeping a hotel. This was characteristic of Tupper. At the time when he and McGee withdrew to enable Sir John to complete the formation of his first Cabinet, he was asked if he would take a governorship: "I would not," he replied "take all the governorships rolled into one." He secured the appointment for his old friend and colleague, Mr. A. G. Archibald.

The Canadian Pacific Railway crisis came on November 7th. Sir John Macdonald, perceiving a danger of defeat, preferred to abandon office without a division. He did not think anything could be gained by placing his followers in the position of being obliged to vote to sustain the Government in face of the serious charges which had so stirred public opinion. Mr. Mackenzie was called upon to form a Government, and thus ended the drama of 1873 and the first administration of Sir John Macdonald. Some of the members viewed his retirement with complacency. Mr. Tilley, it was discovered, had the Lieutenant-Governorship of New Brunswick in his pocket when the crisis came, and Mr. Hugh McDonald his commission as Judge of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia. Some ministers had private means, and the giving up of office had little effect upon their personal fortunes. It was otherwise with Dr. Tupper. Though anxious to become independent by the acquisition of wealth, and although some opportunities for gain had come within his grasp, such as the Springhill Mining Deal, yet, at this moment, he had no independent means for the support of his family. He was not always careful in his investments or always fortunate, and was sometimes lured into enterprises which ended in disaster rather than in profit. Deprived of the emoluments of office, he had to face the problem of a livelihood. His sons were still being educated and he was forced to maintain a scale of living commensurate with his station. But at no moment of his life was Dr. Tupper daunted, nor did he ever lose faith in his ability to provide by his own exertions for all his needs, and his confidence was so far shared by his friends that never during his whole public career was a movement set on foot to provide for his necessities. Some men are of such easy-going disposition that they can permit their private interests to take care of themselves, while observant friends are quick to raise funds to provide for emergent necessities. No man in the public life of Canada ever served his country more faithfully and efficiently, or devoted more time and energy to constructive statesmanship in the Dominion at its earlier stages, and, possibly, there were times when he felt the pinch of financial stress as much as others. It is a tribute to his qualities and a high token of public confidence in his powers that no one ever suggested that the hat be passed round on his behalf, though this has often been done for the relief of men who have done infinitely less and whose real needs were no greater. A strong, masterful man, Tupper never appealed to the sympathies of his fellows. He stood upon his own feet with perfect confidence, and faced without faltering the issue of his personal fortunes. He went to Toronto and resumed there the practice of his profession; and so high was his professional reputation, that his earnings at this time were said to be greater than the salary of a Cabinet Minister.

The position of the Conservative party after the downfall of the Government in 1873 was far from promising. The defeat of the administration was upon grounds less favourable for rehabilitation than had a mere question of public policy been involved. The leaders of the party had been smirched, especially Sir John Macdonald, and the betrayal of the origin of the election fund raised in 1872 created a profoundly unpleasant impression throughout the country. The Canadian Pacific Railway enterprise, as originally conceived, had failed. The company had been unable to finance the undertaking in London or elsewhere and had surrendered its contract. Public confidence in the political honesty of Sir John Macdonald had been greatly impaired, and, for the time being Mr. Mackenzie was basking in the sunbeams of popular favour.

Leadership was the first question for the defeated party to consider. Sir John stood very high in the regard of his followers, and his consummate qualities as a party manager were universally recognized. The thought, however, must often have intruded itself on the minds of many judicious men in the Conservative party at that moment that possibly the retention of Sir John Macdonald in the leadership would be a handicap to the party and a bar to its early return to power; but few took the responsibility of giving expression to any such thought. The disposition was to cling to Sir John in his fallen fortunes. His own action tended to foster this sentiment, for he unreservedly placed his resignation in the hands of his party and plainly intimated that it would be desirable to put at its head a younger man, dissociated entirely from the past and unhampered by antecedents of a disagreeable kind. But having regard to the illustrious services he had rendered his party and the large part he had played in the creation, expansion, and consolidation of the Dominion, it seemed an act of ingratitude, if not something worse, to desert him in the hour of his temporary eclipse, and it was not difficult for an observant person to discover the overwhelming trend of party sentiment to stand by Sir John to the end. The doubt as to the wisdom of this, which was coupled with the sentiment of loyalty to Sir John in nearly all minds, did not fail to find some expression, though it was not formidable. Mr. Peter Mitchell was credited at that time with the avowal of the opinion that some other leader, ✓ free from taint, should be selected, and a few highly moral journals of Conservative leanings gave voice to hints of the same kind; but this feeling was not strong and caused no actual wavering in the ranks of the Conservative party. If Sir John Macdonald's advice were to be taken seriously and his resignation accepted, the first need would be to discover the man who could effectively fill his place. Leaders who can command an undivided following are rare in all parties at all times and seasons, and the Conservative party in 1873 presented no exceptional aspect in this regard. If Sir John were to be put aside, even temporarily, only one man—Dr. Tupper—could be seriously considered as his successor, though perhaps some few would have placed Mr. Alexander Campbell in the reckoning. Tupper was the one able and aggressive man to whom Conservatives looked at all times for the effective word of command and the vigorous action which must go in advance of success. He, too, was the only Conservative who seemed to have an assured hope that his party would speedily be restored to power. When the overthrow of the Government was imminent, Mr. E. B. Wood said in the House: "Before many days the Government will have fallen like Lucifer, never to rise again." With set jaw and flashing eye Tupper retorted: "But we *shall* rise." No one accused him of having played even a minor part in the unfortunate incident of the Hugh Allan election fund contribution. It is not impossible that Dr. Tupper revolved these things in his mind, nor can any one familiar with his ambitious character doubt that leadership would have been grateful to his feelings. But he was far too strong and far too shrewd to betray by the slightest token to the world at large any such inclinations. He had the sagacity to perceive clearly that Sir John would be the choice of the party, and he took care to be foremost in the call. In all his intercourse with his friends from every part of the Dominion, he was most pronounced in the expression of confidence in Sir John and in allaying any distrust that might have found a lodgment in the minds of any of his political associates as to the wisdom of clinging to Sir John, even with his "another ten thousand" telegram on his head. There was no change of leadership, and when Tupper next visited Nova Scotia he was asked by one of his most devoted followers why the party had retained Sir John at its head after the nasty revelations of the Pacific Scandal. "Because, sir," he said, "he is the ablest man in the Liberal-Conservative party and best able to consolidate all interests to his support." It is quite possible he may secretly have believed himself to be the best, but to no one did he show the slightest sign of such a belief. How many excellent men in political life have marred their future, indeed destroyed all hope of a great career, by allowing their personal aspirations or grievances to escape from the stronghold of their secret thoughts and become the common property of a cynical world. Such weakness Tupper was incapable of displaying.

For the first two or three years after their defeat, Tupper, now known as "the Cumberland War-horse", was the life and hope of the Conservatives, "about the only Oppositionist who manifested any fight."[1] Sir John Macdonald was undoubtedly greatly disturbed by his overthrow, and in particular by its cause. When he went out of power the prospect was not so dark. The House of Commons was then pretty equally divided politically. There were members in it who, while willing to see him sacrificed for their own safety, were yet not wholly dependable as supporters of Mr. Mackenzie. When Sir John's leadership was so enthusiastically confirmed by his friends, the situation was not altogether without promise. A clever tactician like Sir John might reasonably hope to trip up the new Government any day in a House elected to support him by a majority of thirty. But the possibility of an early dissolution had not then dawned upon the Conservatives, or even upon the Liberals. The fact that the new Ministers went off to their Ministerial elections seemed to negative the idea that any immediate appeal to the country was contemplated. It was only after the Ministerial elections were over, and when members of the new Government began seriously to consider the precarious character of their existence in a House a majority of which had been elected to sustain not them but their opponents, that the propriety, indeed, the necessity, of a general election became evident. A dissolution accordingly followed in January, 1874, and proved a staggering blow to the Opposition. It had no money, and its leaders were under the ban of public condemnation for corrupt conduct. The situation had to be faced and the best possible done, but the result was a disastrous rout and Sir John came back with (not more than seventy followers) in a House of 215. Even Quebec gave the Liberals a majority, which was a complete reversal of conditions prevailing for many years. The result, so far as that Province was concerned, was not normal or destined to be permanent. It was rather the outcome of a sudden wave of popular sentiment which followed the accession of the Liberals to power.

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[1] Young, James: *Public Men and Public Life in Canada*, vol. II., p. 197.

It became necessary for Dr. Tupper to seek re-election in Cumberland and at the same time to survey the whole situation in Nova Scotia. The prospect was dismal enough. The Nova Scotia Repealers had become the most ardent followers of Alexander Mackenzie. The eight Nova Scotians who had suddenly deserted Tupper in his hour of need could go back to a happy and enthusiastic party. In the general rejoicing they had no need to "explain" votes given against the party interest. All were certain of election, while Tupper's friends in Halifax, Pictou, Antigonish, and Kings, who had won under his banner of 1872, were in serious danger and were in the end defeated. His own seat presented dangers. The Liberals nominated a strong local man, Mr. George Hibbard, to oppose his election, and a lively contest resulted. Invincible in his own constituency, Dr. Tupper had little difficulty in securing election by a majority of 379, but when, on the day after election, he looked about him, he could not put his hand on a dependable supporter elected in Nova Scotia. Kings had defeated his friend L. DeV. Chipman and returned Dr. (afterwards Sir Frederick) Borden. Halifax had returned his old opponents, Jones and Power. Pictou had rejected James Macdonald and his colleague Robert Doull in favour of two Liberals, James W. Carmichael and John A. Dawson. In Colchester the struggle between the two candidates at the election was as to which was the true Liberal. The one actually elected, Mr. Thomas McKay, proved to be the wrong one for the Liberals, for in a short time he placed himself unreservedly under the leadership of Dr. Tupper. Cape Breton sent two members, one of whom, N. L. Mackay, was really in sympathy with the Government; the other, William McDonald, professedly neutral during the election contest, very soon developed into a supporter of Dr. Tupper. These two men —McKay and McDonald—were the only adherents he could then rely upon in the whole Nova Scotia delegation.

The result of the election was to place the Government in a triumphant position. It had carried every province in the Dominion, and the vote indicated an immense preponderance of popular sentiment in its favour. Even Toronto, the citadel of Toryism, returned three Liberals. The Liberal leaders and their followers believed that Sir John Macdonald was irretrievably ruined and that the Liberal star would be in the ascendant for many years. A corresponding despondency took possession of the Conservative party, and Sir John himself was disposed to be faint-hearted and pessimistic. It was at this moment that

Tupper's dauntless courage and buoyant assurance sustained the drooping spirits of the Conservatives. Sir John was disposed to pursue a waiting policy, and his criticisms in the House were generally of a moderate character and in no sense aggressive. With his instinctive cunning, he was waiting for a promising issue. His tactics for the first two years of opposition were Fabian, waiting for blunders on the part of his opponents, of which he could take advantage. There was no doubt subtle wisdom in this course, but other things also had to be considered. The party had been badly beaten and was prostrate under the blow. It was necessary to restore its members to hope and heart. This was Tupper's mission and at no period of his long career did he display greater qualities than at this dark hour of his party's fortunes. In the House of Commons he became the aggressive and uncompromising critic of every feature of the Government's policy and conduct. Mr. Tilley, the financial authority of the late Government, having retired to the Lieutenant-Governorship of New Brunswick, and no man especially endowed for the discussion of financial questions being in the ranks of the Opposition, Tupper sprang into the breach as the financial critic of the Government. The instant Mr. Richard (afterwards Sir Richard) Cartwright finished his first budget speech in 1874, Tupper took the floor and struck right and left at every feature of the financial policy of the administration. He charged the Government with increasing taxation, "with infidelity to its free trade principles in the increase of the tariff from 15 to 17½ per cent. The obligations incurred by the previous Government, he claimed, could be discharged without any difficulty, as the increased revenue from an increased population and from the development of the North-West Territories would more than meet the extra expenditure".[1] He taunted it with threatened deficits, in contrast with the former administration, which had been rolling up surpluses. It might fairly be charged that Tupper's attacks were not infrequently carping and hypercritical, perhaps even specious and unfair; but they served their purpose in stirring up party feeling in the country and were probably quite as damaging as if conceived in a more just and discriminating spirit.

By-elections had to be held very soon after the general election—several the result of election petitions. Tupper had to face a petition himself and, while placing the matter in the hands of counsel, he read the English text-books on controverted elections until he was himself master of every intricacy of the election law. He escaped by a technicality. Whenever a by-election occurred Tupper was promptly on the ground on behalf of the Opposition candidate, making furious onslaughts on the administration. The result of the by-elections for the first two years was almost invariably favourable to the Government, and Tupper had to endure the mortification of seeing his most titanic efforts end in repeated disappointment and failure. His opponents, noting the long series of defeats, pronounced him the evil genius of his party, and asserted that it was only necessary for Tupper to go into a constituency to secure the return of the Government candidate. All this he endured without a sign of faltering or a note of discouragement. He confidently believed that the tide would turn, and his aggressive speeches in the constituencies he visited, and the public reports of them which reached all parts of Canada, aroused the blood and awakened the enthusiasm of the Conservative party. In all his public utterances there was a tone of confidence, a bold carrying of the war into the enemy's camp, which had a mighty influence in restoring the spirits of the party cast down by overwhelming defeat. It is no disparagement to Sir John Macdonald's ability and astuteness to say that at this critical stage of the party's history Tupper was its inspiring genius, and that to him more than to any other man the party is indebted for the spirit that enabled it to spring to the front and take up actively the weapons of party warfare when in due course an issue arose upon which a battle could be fought on advantageous terms.

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[1] Ross and Buckingham: *The Hon. Alexander Mackenzie*, p. 375.

The record of the Mackenzie Government is only indirectly involved in this memoir, but it is impossible to narrate the events which led up to the great Conservative victory in 1878 without a glance at the incidents of that administration. No Government ever took office wth fairer political prospects than that formed by Alexander Mackenzie in 1873; none ever encountered more aggravating and deplorable ill luck; and seldom has any administration abused its opportunities and mismanaged its political affairs to a corresponding degree. Its ill luck was due largely to the acute industrial and commercial depression, which dogged it from the beginning of its days, resulting in diminished revenues, large deficits, and universal hard times. The lack of sufficient income deprived it of the means of even attempting alleviation by the construction of large public works. It was hampered by the prevalent fiscal orthodoxy from undertaking remedial measures in the way of increased tariffs, and thus became amenable to the charge of being a fly on the wheel while one important industry after another was being forced to the wall by ruinous competition from United States manufacturers, who sought to mitigate the unfortunate conditions under which they were labouring by marketing their surplus products in Canada at slaughter prices. Mr. Mackenzie, though a thoroughly honest man who tried to conduct his administration on sound business principles, was devoid of imagination, which is an enormous factor in swaying the masses, and absolutely destitute of tact and suavity of manner, without which success in administration, under existing conditions, is practically impossible. Every man seeking a favour from the Government usually left an implacable enemy of the Prime Minister. He had, moreover, no good genius in his Cabinet who understood the incomparable art of making friends. The general management of the party, too, was utterly neglected. The Premier burdened himself with the exacting duties of the Department of Public Works, which at that time included Railways and Canals, and gave little heed to the moulding of public opinion, the adjustment of local differences, or the trend of public sentiment. His administration was attacked as being a cold, hard business one, appealing to none but a few beings of Puritanical tendencies or a handful of free-trade doctrinaires. Friends were snubbed, opponents exasperated. Strict economy was practised, which was just what the people then, and for a long time after, did not want. They yearned for a Government which had the genius to create large revenues and royally spend them in undertakings of local value and national importance.

In spite of all these drawbacks it is highly probable that Mr. Mackenzie's Government would have safely weathered the general elections of 1878 if he had not, in 1876, blindly and fatuously ignored a public demand for fiscal protection, and for this egregious mistake neither he nor his chief lieutenant, Mr. Cartwright, is wholly responsible. By the beginning of 1876 the industrial situation in Canada had become deplorable. So great was the depression that consumption had enormously diminished and over-production resulted. The same conditions existed in the United States, but the manufacturers there had their own market preserved by protective duties, while Canada had only a 17½ per cent. revenue tariff. In consequence, the American could ship his over-production to Canada, and while this involved a decided reduction in price, it was better than not selling at all; but it spelt death to the Canadian manufacturer whose wares could not find a market owing to these imported goods being sold at greatly reduced prices. Under these circumstances there arose a strong and almost pathetic appeal from the Canadian manufacturers for such a change in the tariff as would safeguard them from ruinous competition. The circumstances raised the matter somewhat above any mere academic discussion of the abstract principles of political economy. It was not merely a question of free trade or protection; it was a question of industrial life or death. Messrs. Mackenzie and Cartwright heard the representations of large and influential delegations of the most important industries of the country, were convinced that something should be done to meet the exceptional conditions, and were considering remedial measures, when they encountered an organized opposition in their own ranks, chiefly from the Maritime Province members, under the leadership of Mr. A. G. Jones of Halifax, who represented that any system of protection would be a menace to the commercial and shipping interests of those provinces and would even constitute a breach of faith as to the terms on which they had entered Confederation. This powerful junto compelled Mr. Mackenzie to hold his hand, adhere to the dogma of free trade, and propose no remedy whatever for the deplorable conditions everywhere prevailing.

This was the rock upon which the Government ship was wrecked. It was not generally known by the public what course the Government would take in respect of fiscal policy, and Mr. Cartwright's budget speech was awaited with intense interest. Some expected that an effort would be made to supply a remedy, while others doubted whether any adequate action would be taken. Dr. Tupper was to be the critic of the budget, and a tradition existed, which has never been dispelled, that he prepared himself for either line of action.[1] If the Government announced remedial legislation in the way of staying mischievous importation, he was prepared to declare its proposals inadequate or even involving burdensome taxation; if no action was announced he was ready to declaim against its cruel disregard of the acute sufferings of the industrial interests of the country. It is of course impossible to verify this story, but it would not be surprising, if true, or different from the probable course of any other political partisan. But, whatever plans may have been in his mind, his course was made easy by the unequivocal announcement by the Finance Minister that no change in the tariff was contemplated, and this was enforced in a series of specious arguments against the unwisdom of

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[1] "When Dr. Tupper concluded his speech about half-past ten o'clock, and shortly before the House adjourned, the Hon. Mr. Mackenzie

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went across the Chamber to the front of the doctor's desk, and the two doughty antagonists—the heroes of so many political battles—indulged in what seemed to the onlookers a very friendly and amusing conversation, which at times seemed to verge a little too near the hilarious for a legislative body with the Speaker still in the Chair. I watched the whole proceeding across the gangway, and was somewhat surprised when the Premier on returning came straight across the front of my own desk. Knowing that my opinion was that the Government had made a serious, if not fatal, blunder, in not dealing with the Tariff as originally intended, he went on to tell me his conversation with the member for Cumberland, which seemed to have amused him very much.

"'What do you think Tupper has just told me?' he began.

"'I have no idea,' I replied.

"'Well,' continued Mr. Mackenzie, 'I went over to banter him a little on his speech, which I jokingly alleged was a capital one considering he had been loaded up on the other side. He regarded this as a good joke,' Mr. Mackenzie went on to say, 'and frankly admitted to me that he had entered the House under the belief that the Government intended to raise the Tariff and fully prepared to take up the opposite line of attack.'"—Young, James: *Public Men and Public Life in Canada*, Vol. II, p. 239.

adopting dangerous expedients to meet temporary derangements. Having been compelled to adhere to the free trade dogma, Mr. Cartwright and his colleagues made a virtue of necessity, and argued with much ingenuity and force that protection would result in disastrous consequences to the country.

This announcement sealed the doom of the Government. Tupper was quick to denounce the failure to give relief to the distressed industries, and he could do this consistently, as he had previously, as we have seen, been the champion of a Canadian National Policy. Sir John Macdonald was not slow to discern that an issue was at hand on which he could appeal successfully to the country. He tabled a resolution expressing regret that the Government had done nothing to meet the crying needs of the industries, and instantly was hailed by the manufacturers as their sympathetic friend. The battle on this issue was renewed in 1877 and 1878, and, when the elections came on in September of the latter year, the country was thoroughly aroused and the manufacturers were practically a unit in demanding some fiscal remedy for the intolerable conditions under which they had long laboured and were still struggling. It was a peculiarly opportune moment to launch a crusade on behalf of the National Policy. The country was in the throes of a protracted depression, and those who are suffering are usually ready to accept any remedy which offers relief, without too closely scrutinizing its character. One party told the people to work more and eat less, and wait until time brought about normal conditions; the other said: "Your evils come from the unfair competition of the outsider; we will frame a tariff which will give you command of your own market." It would not be difficult for any intelligent onlooker to foresee the outcome of a struggle on those lines. In 1877 the Minister of Finance in his budget speech told the country emphatically that no change of policy was meditated.

"It appears to me," he said, "to be our wisest policy to adhere strictly to a revenue tariff, and to advance steadily but continuously with those important public works which cannot be delayed without grave public injury; also to fulfil, as far as we can, all the engagements we have entered into, with this proviso, however, that those engagements must not be allowed to imperil our general position, or to endanger the future of the whole population of this country. I do not pretend to say that all risks are past, but I think I am justified in asserting that the risks, at any rate, have been considerably lessened. I do not look for any sudden expansion. I can hardly say that I desire any very sudden expansion; but I do believe that we may fairly count on a steady and gradual progress, such as we know by past experience has rarely failed to exist in Canada, even under circumstances quite as disadvantageous as those with which we are now confronted."

After the session of 1876 there had been indications of a reaction against the Government. The reaction now increased tenfold. By-elections resulted in the loss of seat after seat by the administration, and Dr. Tupper, pursuing his relentless campaign, was able to silence the taunt that his presence assured the election of the Government candidate. Hatred of him succeeded ridicule; and hatred is only bestowed on those whose strength is feared. We laugh at those we despise and sneer at those whom we think may be ignored, but we reserve our hatred as an unwitting compliment to those whom we find dangerous. As the time for the general election drew near Tupper was in evidence in all parts of the Dominion. He addressed a meeting in Halifax in 1877, and another in 1878 in Sydney, Cape Breton, in which, in most explicit terms, he defined the meaning and expounded the advantages of protection to the men struggling with a coal industry which yielded no profit. There was a ring of confidence in his every utterance, public and private. In the East he declared that the signs of reaction in the West were marked and unparalleled; in the West he gave assurance that the East was up in arms against the administration. By a kind fate it proved that he was right in both cases. The tide of popular feeling was plainly running against Mr. Mackenzie.

Two by-elections occurred in the early days of 1878. Mr. W. B. Vail, Minister of Militia, representing Digby, and Mr. A. G. Jones, representing Halifax, were compelled to resign their seats on account of being associated with a newspaper in Halifax which had received printing favours from the Government. The election in Digby came off ten days in advance of that in Halifax. Dr. Tupper went to Nova Scotia and took charge of the campaign in both counties. He succeeded in securing Mr. Vail's defeat by a large majority. Flushed with his great triumph he proceeded to Halifax and in mid-winter visited outlying sections, addressing meetings, and, in the city, gave inspiration to the party forces. Mr. Jones was able to save his seat, but Tupper's influence in organizing and inspiriting his friends laid the foundation for success in the general elections which would take place during the following summer.

Notwithstanding indications of reaction against the administration scarcely any one was prepared for the sweeping victory of September, 1878. Every city in the Dominion except one declared for the National Policy. The exception was Kingston, Ontario, where Sir John Macdonald was defeated at the very moment his party was sweeping all before it in the other parts of the Dominion

—one of the oft-recurring paradoxes of political contests. The Opposition secured a majority in every province of the Dominion except New Brunswick, which has a habit of adhering to the party in power. Messrs. Jones, Cartwright, Coffin, and Laflamme, Ministers, were defeated, and so was Mr. Blake, who retired from the Ministry just before the election. It seemed the irony of fate that Mr. Jones, who had been foremost in preventing any fiscal changes out of regard for the dominant sentiment of the Maritime Provinces should not only have been badly beaten in Halifax, but that Tupper in Nova Scotia should have carried fourteen seats out of twenty-one in favour of the National Policy. Mr. Mackenzie, greatly astonished at the verdict, promptly accepted it, and, after a few weeks devoted to the disposal of arrears of public business, sent his resignation to Lord Dufferin, who was still Governor-General, though on the brink of departure from Canada. In October, 1878, Sir John Macdonald formed his second ministry, the most powerful member of which was undoubtedly Dr. Tupper. Tupper had encountered severe opposition in Cumberland county, his opponent being Mr. W. T. Pipes, who afterwards became Premier of Nova Scotia, but he was returned by a large majority. The important portfolio of Minister of Public Works was assigned to him. This gave him charge not only of the Intercolonial Railway, but also of the great work of securing the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway—the largest and most important enterprise devolving upon the administration. The work of the Department was so enormous that within a year it was deemed expedient to divide it into two departments, one Minister having charge of Railways and Canals and the other of Public Works. The more important of these, Railways and Canals, remained with Dr. Tupper.

The whole Conservative party recognized without reserve the highly effective services Dr. Tupper had rendered through the five years of opposition, and credit was ungrudgingly accorded him. Of course he was not without his enemies, even in the Government camp. No such masterful personality had appeared in the arena of the Upper Provinces, and a strong man almost invariably evokes opposition from the dullards and weaklings, who fear his power and chafe under his domination. Sir John Macdonald was blest with a temperament much better suited to gain the favour and secure the regard of commonplace people. He ruled by seeming to let every man have his own way and by pandering to weaknesses and whims, while Tupper, master of his duties and knowing his own mind, pursued his course in his own way and had not always the patience to take note of the uninformed and confused vapourings of the average man.

A CONTRAST IN METHODS

A striking illustration of the difference between the disposition and methods of Sir John and Sir Charles is to be found in an incident which occurred not long after they had resumed power. A vacancy existed in the representation of Nova Scotia in the Senate. A worthy old gentleman who had carried one of the doubtful counties by a narrow majority went to Ottawa during the recess to obtain this seat. Naturally he went first to Tupper, who realized plainly that the member in question, though a life-long friend and supporter, was not a desirable appointee, and also that it would be extremely dangerous to make a vacancy in his seat, which might be captured by an opponent. He told him, with absolute frankness, that his appointment was out of the question and could not be considered for a moment. He advised him, therefore, to abandon all further efforts to secure the Senatorship and to return home. It was good advice and honest dealing.

But the old fellow was not satisfied with this and went to see Sir John Macdonald himself. As he was ushered into the Premier's office, Sir John grasped him warmly by the hand and said:

"My dear, . . . you are the very man I wanted to see. There is a vacancy in the Senate which belongs to Nova Scotia, and you have unquestionably the strongest claim of any man I know in the whole Province. There would be no question as to your appointment, if it were not that I am told by everybody that you are the only man in the Dominion who could carry the county of . . . . What do you say to this, is it true or not?"

Elevated to a degree by this insidious flattery, Mr. . . . was compelled to admit that it was probably true that he was the only person who could hold this doubtful seat.

"Then I know, my dear fellow, that, however great your claim, you will not put the Government in the embarrassing position of losing an important seat, which you only could win or hold."

"No, Sir John," he replied with great fervour, "I will not put you in any such position," and went home pleased, flattered, and happy.

Any one is at liberty to choose which method is the more worthy of praise and imitation. Many will award the palm to the clever dissembler who possesses the art of playing upon human weakness, but every right-thinking man will agree that downright honest frankness has a higher claim to admiration.

CHAPTER VI

MINISTER OF RAILWAYS AND HIGH COMMISSIONER (1878-1887)

SOON after Sir John Macdonald's second administration was formed, several of the leading Ministers were honoured with Knighthood for distinguished services. Dr. Tupper, who had previously been vested with the order of Commander of the Bath, was made a K.C.M.G. (1879) and will hereafter be known and designated as Sir Charles Tupper. Mr. Tilley, who, on the completion of his term of office as Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick, had become a candidate for St. John in the next election and had been returned and given the portfolio of Minister of Finance, was likewise honoured, and so also was Mr. Alexander Campbell. Proffers of similar honours were made to the three most prominent Liberal politicians; Messrs. Mackenzie and Blake declined, while Mr. Cartwright accepted.

Two important matters demanded the immediate attention of the new Government. The first, and most pressing, was a revision of the tariff in obedience to the popular mandate; the other was the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, not only in fulfilment of the terms of the bargain with British Columbia, but also to meet the necessities of national development, which rendered such a railway indispensable. Although he had made many honest attempts in the direction of constructing a transcontinental highway, Mr. Mackenzie had really accomplished very little. The line from Pembina to Winnipeg and Selkirk had been built. The work between Thunder Bay and Red River was partly under contract. Some work had been done on the Kaministiquia River, and an effort made to improve the water system of the Lake of the Woods and to construct a carriage road in British Columbia. Not a mile of railway had been built, or contracted for, on the prairie section west of the Red River. The new Government was compelled to regard the Canadian Pacific Railway as a work practically not yet begun, and to consider measures which would secure its construction. Tupper, now Minister of Railways and Canals, never faltered in his fixed determination of having the whole line built from the settled parts of Eastern Canada through the unsettled or sparsely settled West to the Pacific Ocean. He made no pretense of utilizing the waterways, and the Government proposed to face the responsibility of immediate construction.

The first proposition to secure the building of the transcontinental line was submitted by Sir Charles in the session of 1879. It was embodied in a series of resolutions, which reiterated and affirmed the obligation of the Canadian Government to fulfil its engagements to British Columbia at the earliest practicable moment and with the greatest speed; averred that the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway would bring into being a great Imperial highway across the continent under British control and upon British soil; declared that, as large numbers of men were out of employment in Great Britain, this stupendous undertaking would furnish immediate employment to many of these and thus bring in a large body of workmen who would ultimately become settlers on the vast tracts of prairie land waiting only for cultivation to be a valuable national asset; and asserted that the Government should be authorized to employ all proper methods for securing the co-operation of the Imperial Government in this great work.

These were merely the preliminary affirmations of the abstract principle of vigorous action; the practical step proposed to secure this result was the appropriation of a hundred million acres of land, to be vested in Commissioners who should have control of the whole area of land within twenty miles of either side of the proposed line of railway, and of any other land outside this belt necessary to make up the complement of good land. The Commissioners were authorized to sell the land at not less than two dollars per acre, and the proceeds were to be used solely for the purpose of paying the cost of constructing the railway.

The Government was authorized by these resolutions to locate the line west of the Red River and to spend a million dollars on construction work; also to enter into a contract for the building of a section of the line in British Columbia, not exceeding one hundred and twenty-five miles.

These resolutions were submitted by Sir Charles in a speech of great length and power, largely historic, in which he set forth what had been done, criticized the want of action on the part of Mr. Mackenzie, and expatiated on the immense advantages of opening up this new country, which he claimed the Government was able to develop by using the land resources of the West without imposing burdens on Eastern Canada. The resolutions were vigorously opposed; but, as a matter of fact, they did not really constitute a serious proposition. They answered the purpose of filling the immediate need of a policy, and thus enabled the Government to mature a more feasible plan for accomplishing the gigantic task before it. The Government, it is true, gave a contract to some Americans for the construction of one of the most expensive portions of the road—from Kamloops to Port Moody,—and it also entered into arrangements for the building of part of the prairie section, but nothing further was done in 1879 in forwarding the enterprise as a whole.

During the next session Sir Charles came forward with some amendments to his original proposal. It had been found impossible to dispose of land in these remote regions for two dollars an acre, and he consequently proposed that the price at which land could be sold should be fixed by the Governor-in-Council, but never at less than one dollar an acre. These identical lands, in the course of time, sold for five, ten, and twelve dollars an acre, but the enhanced value sprang from the construction of the railway. A prairie farm served by a transcontinental railway is one thing; a prairie farm without access to the markets of the world is another. There were objections to the policy of building this road out of the proceeds of the sale of government lands. They were to be sold to any purchaser who would furnish the price, the sole object being to realize money. This would open the door to large acquisitions by speculators, who would hold the land until the railway was built and then exact high prices from those who were seeking to settle. Mr. Blake submitted a resolution that there should be no sale of land except to actual settlers, but this was rejected at the instance of the Government.

The amending lands resolutions submitted by Sir Charles were duly carried, once more committing the House to a policy of Government construction. But time dragged on and nothing was done, until in a speech at Bath, Ontario, in June, 1880, Sir John Macdonald indicated that the Government had found it necessary to change its plans and that negotiations had already begun under which it was hoped that the Railway would be built by private capitalists, a number of whom were ready to undertake the work with the aid of subventions from the Government. A little later on Sir John Macdonald, Sir Charles Tupper, and Mr. J. H. Pope, Minister of Agriculture, whose Department had charge of immigration, went to England in order to continue the negotiations. The names of the enterprising men who had offered on certain terms and conditions to carry out the whole work deserve to be preserved in the annals of Canadian History, for they undertook a herculean task, and in the end achieved a success unparalleled by any railway enterprise the world has ever seen. The original contractors were George Stephen and Duncan McIntyre of Montreal, R. B. Angus, who had been in the service of the Bank of Montreal, and later on became its President, John S. Kennedy of New York, J. J. Hill of St. Paul, Morton Rose and Company of London, and Kohn, Reinach and Company of Paris. Donald A. Smith was not among the contractors, but he was solidly behind the enterprise and no one of the original promoters made greater efforts or sacrifice on its behalf.

The terms of the contract were not onerous, or in any large sense unwise or improvident. The Company was to build the road from Callender Junction on Lake Nipissing to Vancouver, B.C., of a grade and character corresponding to that of the Union Pacific Railway. As a subvention for this, it was to receive $25,000,000 in cash, 25,000,000 acres of land adjoining the line, and to have handed over to it the completed portions of the railway then under construction by the Government between Kamloops and Vancouver, and between Thunder Bay and Red River, the total cost of which would be something over $30,000,000. The Company, of course, had the advantage of all the large sums which the Government had expended in surveys, and it was also to have the privilege of having its material admitted duty free and the whole enterprise exempted from taxation.

The contract was signed in London, on October 21st, 1880, but it was not made public until submitted to Parliament. The Government deemed it important that it should be ratified at once and, consequently, Parliament was summoned to meet December 9th, 1880, instead of in February or March, as usual. The contract was at once laid upon the table of the House and was received with mingled feelings by the country. It soon became clear that it would be vigorously attacked by Mr. Blake, who had now become the leader of the Opposition in succession to Mr. Mackenzie, and by all his followers. On December 14th, Sir Charles Tupper moved a resolution confirming the contract, and supported it in a speech which may fairly be regarded as the greatest in his political career. Leading statesmen who are gifted with the power of exposition have occasion to deal with so many vital questions that it is sometimes a matter of opinion which of several important utterances is their most powerful. Few of Sir Charles Tupper's speeches can be classed as other than strong and stirring. His capacity to marshal facts with striking directness and his ability to institute comparisons at the expense of his antagonists have found no superior as yet in the debating arena of the Canadian Commons; but the importance of the question with which he was dealing, the historical sequences which followed the adoption of the measure he was submitting, and the large and far-seeing view he promulgated as to the future of the country, now for the first time being opened up, combined to make this speech his most masterly parliamentary effort.

He first demonstrated conclusively that all political parties were agreed upon the necessity of keeping faith with British Columbia, and the importance of opening up for settlement the vast tracts of unsettled country which Canada had recently acquired. Chapter and verse were given for quotations from the speeches of every leading man, Liberal and Tory, in support of this proposition. He next dealt with the previous proposals which had been made to secure the construction of the railway, from the original contract with Sir Hugh Allan and his associates to the several schemes submitted by Mr. Mackenzie during his term of office. He then entered into minute calculations of the cost to Canada involved in the adoption of each of these proposals, and proved, apparently conclusively, that the scheme now presented would cost Canada less than any previously proposed. He even went a step farther and demonstrated to the satisfaction of all, save his political opponents, that the construction of the work under the contract would impose no burden whatever upon the Canadian people, since by opening up this new country the Government would be able to dispose of land to settlers upon terms which would bring to the country a revenue larger than the whole sum contributed in subventions. Ten years later this statement was constantly flung derisively in the teeth of Sir Charles, since very little revenue had then been derived from land sales. But in this world time is the great problem-solver. It required two decades, at least, to circulate knowledge regarding the Canadian North-West and to inspire confidence in its future; then the tide of immigration began to flow, moderately at first, but gathering force, year after year, until it reached vast proportions, and after another decade had passed Sir Charles' predictions had been more than realized and the prospects of still greater returns made clear beyond peradventure.

The peroration of this memorable speech must be given in full since it is characteristic of the man; and glowing, even florid, as it then seemed, it made no prediction that has not been realized, and prefigured nothing that has not come to pass and been infinitely exceeded:

"I have the satisfaction of knowing that throughout this intelligent country every man breathed more freely when he learned that the enormous undertaking of constructing and operating the railway was to be lifted off the shoulders of the country, and the liability the country was going to incur was to be brought within, not over, the limit which, in its present financial condition, it is prepared to meet; within such limits that the proceeds from the sale of the land to be granted by Parliament for the construction of the line would wipe out all liabilities at no distant day. But that is the slightest consideration in reference to this question. It is a fact that, under the proposals now submitted for Parliament to consider, this country is going to secure the construction and operation of the gigantic work which is to give new life and vitality to every section of this Dominion. No greater responsibility rests upon any body of men in this Dominion than rests upon the Government of Canada, placed as it is in a position to deal with the enormous development of such a country as Providence has given us; and I say we should be traitors to ourselves and to our children if we should hesitate to secure on terms such as we have the pleasure of submitting to Parliament the construction of this work, which is going to develop all the enormous resources of the North-West and pour into that country a tide of population which will be a tower of strength to every part of Canada, a tide of industrious and intelligent men, who will not only produce national as well as individual wealth in that section of the Dominion, but will create such a demand for the supplies which must come from the older provinces as will give new life and vitality to every industry in which those provinces are engaged. . . .

"Sir, I say we have been disappointed, but I hope upon future reflection at no distant day, when the results of the measure which we are now submitting for the approval of Parliament—and which I trust and confidently expect will obtain the sanction of this House—will be such as to compel these gentlemen openly and candidly to admit that in taking the course which we have followed we have done what is calculated to promote the best interests of the country, and that it has been attended with a success exceeding our most sanguine expectations. I can only say, in conclusion, after some five and twenty years of public life, I shall feel it the greatest source of pleasure that a quarter of a century has afforded me, as I am satisfied that my Right Honourable friend beside me will feel that it crowns the success of his public life, that while Premier of this country his Government were able to carry through Parliament a measure of such inestimable value to the progress of Canada; so I can feel, if I have no other bequest to leave to my children after me, the proudest legacy I would desire to leave was the record that I was able to take an active part in the promotion of this great measure by which I believe Canada will receive an impetus that will make it a great and powerful country at no distant date."

On resuming his seat, Sir Charles received warm congratulations from his friends. He was followed at great length by Mr. Blake, who criticized the various features of the contract. The Opposition kept up the debate until the Christmas holidays forced an adjournment. Mr. Blake and his colleagues conceived the idea of holding demonstrations in the leading cities to protest against the railway policy of the Government. Under Tupper's inspiration, counter demonstrations were organized. At these he appeared upon the platform and, with all the force and enthusiasm of his nature, expounded and defended the contract and proclaimed the wonderful things the road would do for Canada. So the popular campaign organized by his opponents was fully offset by his counter rally, the state of public opinion remained as it was, and nothing was gained by the Opposition in its appeal to popular prejudice. In this affair Tupper's strength as a public man is admirably shown. He rarely resorted to the intrigue of the Council Chamber or the pulling of strings, but boldly appealed to the people, upholding his measures and enforcing his views with a force and vigour which compelled respect. Without his impetuous activity at this critical moment it is impossible to estimate to what degree Mr. Blake and his friends would have been able to arouse public hostility to the Canadian Pacific Railway project.

The contract was ultimately approved by large majorities in both Houses, and, under it, not only was the Canadian Pacific Railway constructed, but also its various ramifications and numerous important connections with the railway system of Eastern Canada. Later on the company established steamship lines on the Great Lakes, and on the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans. Under the contract, the entire road was to be finished in ten years, that is, by 1890; as a matter of fact it was completed in 1885, and this constitutes a feat in railway construction rarely equalled and an expenditure of resources not rivalled by any industrial exploit either before or since.

Sir Charles Tupper's administration was further marked by the extension of the Intercolonial Railway to Quebec. For some years after its opening the Government line terminated at Rivière de Loup, which was the eastern terminus of the Grand Trunk System. It was soon found to be anomalous that an important line of railway should terminate in a comparatively small town with no large share of the export trade of the country; so arrangements were made to acquire the line from Rivière de Loup to Quebec and make it a part of the Government line. Later on the route was made more direct by building from St. Charles to Lévis. Both of these steps were in the right direction, but did not meet the necessities of the Intercolonial. Many years later the line was extended to Montreal, a much more important trade centre, and then it was discovered that to make the Government railway a means of developing trade at Atlantic ports it was necessary that the line be extended west to the centres of grain production, or that it should be linked up with one or other of the great transcontinental lines, which would thus have a direct interest in making it a means of building up Atlantic ports, especially in the winter season when the St. Lawrence was closed by ice.

During his administration of the Department of Railways and Canals, Sir Charles sanctioned and aided an enterprise for a ship-railway across the Isthmus joining Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. It had long been the belief of certain persons, especially in St. John, that a canal connecting the waters of the Bay of Fundy with those of Northumberland Strait would give a great impetus to trade in certain quarters of the Maritime Provinces. It was argued that coal from Cape Breton and the Pictou mines could be carried direct to St. John by such a canal, thus avoiding a long circuit round Nova Scotia. The canal would moreover shorten the distance between Boston and the Gulf of St. Lawrence ports of the Maritime Provinces.

Although the distance across the isthmus is comparatively short—a few miles only—and the land low, no proposition for a canal proper was ever made, and it was asserted at the time that owing chiefly to the high tides of the Bay of Fundy a canal could hardly be operated.

At last came a proposition for the construction of a ship-railway across the isthmus. Under this arrangement the ship and cargo were to be lifted bodily out of the water, placed in a cradle, conveyed by rail across the isthmus, and deposited in the water at the other end. Hitherto the operation of a ship-railway for any distance had not been demonstrated to be practicable, and the promoters of this project received no assurance that after the railway was completed any ship-owner would venture to allow his ship to be placed upon it.

But in spite of all this, a British company with a large capital undertook to construct the work upon obtaining a charter from the Canadian Parliament and a substantial subvention. Many think that Sir Charles Tupper, as Minister of Railways, should have refused any countenance to this enterprise; but circumstances made it difficult for him to act otherwise than he did. He sat in Parliament for the county of Cumberland, through which this ship-railway would run. The people of Amherst and thereabouts were extremely enthusiastic over the enterprise, believing that it would enhance the commercial importance of that town. At any rate the expenditure of several millions in their vicinity would offer opportunities for profit. Besides, there was quite a volume of honest public opinion in favour of the enterprise and a clamour in certain quarters that the government should aid it. The assistance proposed by Sir Charles Tupper was the granting of a bonus of $170,000 a year for twenty years to the company constructing the work. The sum was voted, the company organized, and active operations begun. It is claimed that between two and three million dollars were spent in this undertaking, and those who travel over the Intercolonial may still see from the car windows about two miles west of Amherst a portion of the ruins of this ill-fated project. The money raised not proving sufficient for its completion, work was stopped. The time limit of the contract expired and the obligations of the Government ceased. Some years afterwards those whose money had been swallowed up in the venture made application to the Dominion Government, then under the leadership of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, either for a renewal of the contract or for a refund of a portion of the money expended. But by this time it had become well recognized by practical men that the enterprise was neither sound nor feasible, and the Government did not feel justified in giving any relief. The unfortunate investors were to be pitied, but they were the victims of too sanguine expectations for which there was no adequate basis. In the light of subsequent events, it is clear that it would have been wiser for Sir Charles Tupper to have frowned upon the enterprise rather than to have encouraged it. It can only be said that he acted as most public men in his position would have done, and it must be further borne in mind that in the opinion of some experts the project was a practicable one.

In all public matters from 1878 to 1884, Sir Charles Tupper was the most active figure. In Parliament he was a prolific author of useful legislation and an effective defender of every department of the Government. He was the most available and successful champion of the party cause on the public platform. Under his auspices the Eastern Extension Railway of Nova Scotia, which prepared the way for the further extension of the Intercolonial through the Island of Cape Breton to Sydney harbour, was acquired from the Provincial Government.

In June, 1882, the general elections were held, more than one year in advance of the date to which Parliament might legally run. The excuse was that it was necessary that the National Policy should receive popular endorsement in order to give confidence to industrial promoters. The real reason was that the moment seemed favourable for securing an electoral victory. Sir Charles took special charge of the campaign in the Maritime Provinces. His opponents were not able to muster opposition to him in Cumberland and he was left free to devote his energies to other constituencies. The result fully maintained his commanding position: in Nova Scotia only five seats out of twenty-one were carried by the Opposition, and among the supporters of the Government returned was his second son, Charles Hibbert (afterwards Sir Charles Hibbert), who was nominated by the Conservatives in Pictou and handsomely elected—a success which he probably owed to the prestige of his father.

Although carrying a large majority of the seats in Nova Scotia for the House of Commons, Tupper's influence was not sufficiently potent to prevent the defeat of the Conservative Provincial Government. A majority of Liberals was returned and a Liberal Government soon after formed, which, under various leaders, has remained in power ever since. While Sir Charles was in the political arena he was unceasing in his efforts to defeat this administration, but without any approximation to success. However, the personal relations between Sir Charles and the leading members of the Nova Scotia Government were always friendly and he was ever ready to serve the interests of his native province.

Matters progressed very quietly after the election. The Government majority had been scarcely perceptibly diminished; the National Policy had been endorsed—even in Ontario, where Mr. Blake built his chief hopes. Quebec returned only thirteen opponents. The election had proved most unsatisfactory to the Liberal leaders, who had hoped for very different results. There had been a comfortable belief amongst them that protection would be rejected by the people the moment they had begun to feel its pinch. But they had not felt its pinch, but rather its benefits. Trade had revived, not, indeed, wholly on account of the National Policy, but contemporaneously with it. The sentiment in favour of building up domestic industries grew stronger each year, encouraged as it was by a steady increase in the tariff of the United States. It cost the Liberal party long years of political banishment before it dawned upon it that the National Policy had really public opinion behind it.

Nothing of importance occurred in public affairs in the next two years, when suddenly it was announced (May, 1884), almost like a thunderbolt, that Sir Charles Tupper was about to retire from active political life to accept the position of High Commissioner in London. This office had been created in 1879, and Sir A. T. Galt held the position from 1880 to 1883. He was in office at a time when Canada's importance had not yet begun to be fully realized in Great Britain, and before the Imperial spirit had developed in either country. When Galt's term of office expired, the appointment was offered by the Premier to Sir Charles Tupper. His acceptance puzzled the public. Sir Charles was such a thorough-going politician, was so active in public affairs, had acquired such a commanding position, and seemed so clearly in line for the Premiership in the event of the death or retirement of Sir John Macdonald, that it could scarcely be believed that any lure would draw him from the political field.

His opponents began to propound theories. One was that Tupper was broken physically and mentally and was compelled to abandon active work. There was no foundation for this report. It is quite true that Sir Charles had been incessant in the discharge of public duties and was of that active temperament which led to his being called upon to assume larger labours than most of his colleagues, and that he therefore needed rest;

but it was a monstrous delusion to imagine that Sir Charles Tupper at sixty-three years of age had reached the breaking-down stage. Those who a quarter of a century later saw him approach his ninetieth year in possession of every faculty will have no difficulty in rejecting the theory that Sir Charles became High Commissioner on account of failing powers. Another story, industriously and universally circulated, was that he had quarrelled with Sir John Macdonald and was leaving Canada in disgust. It was a fair guess that Sir Charles would aspire to be Prime Minister and it was assumed that he had become tired of waiting for Sir John to get out of the way, and, therefore, impatient of the lack of prospect for the fulfilment of his ambitious aims, he was "quitting the game". Sir Charles Tupper could make no one believe that the Premiership was not the object of his ambition, but he was shrewd enough to see that so long as Sir John Macdonald remained alive and in possesion of his faculties, the office was pre-empted. No one but a fool would contemplate the possibility of supplanting Sir John Macdonald in the leadership and primacy of his party. There was only six years difference in their ages and Sir John gave no evidences of diminished powers.

But there is nevertheless a secret history in connection with this retirement of Sir Charles from active political life, not fully known, but known sufficiently to permit some general outlines of it to be stated. Mr. Sandford (afterwards Sir Sandford) Fleming had been chief Government engineer in charge of the surveys of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and of the construction of those portions of the line undertaken by the Government. Prior to 1880 mutterings began to be heard in the Opposition press that crooked work was going on in connection with this enterprise. It was known that Fleming had been absent in England in 1879, and, in the session of 1880, one of the members supporting the Government brought up, on a motion for papers, the question of the conduct of the Chief Engineer, criticized his absence, and pointed out that the actual cost of construction of certain portions of the railway had been much greater than the estimates furnished to the Government. It was also intimated that he was drawing no regular salary, which made his position anomalous and might lead to complications.

Sir Charles, of course, defended Mr. Fleming, who had formerly been intimately associated with him in connection with the construction of the Pictou Railway when Tupper was Premier of Nova Scotia. It was alleged that Fleming had condemned the work done and the materials used by some of the contractors, that they had refused to go on with their undertaking, and that construction had come to a standstill. At this stage Mr. Fleming had offered to finish the work himself at the rates agreed to by the contractors, Tupper had accepted his offer, and Mr. Fleming had proceeded with the work and completed it. It was known that Mr. Fleming had made a large sum of money in this venture, and his opponents often made the insinuation that Dr. Tupper had shared in these profits. But although not the slightest evidence was ever produced in support of this, the recollection of these transactions no doubt served to engender suspicions as to the honesty and good faith of the Chief Engineer in his relations to the Minister.

Mr. Dalton McCarthy had been elected to the House of Commons in 1876. He was a man of great ability, one of the most accomplished advocates in Canada, a personal friend of Sir John Macdonald, proud, and ambitious. Those who knew the inner workings of the Conservative party after Sir John resumed office in 1878 aver that Mr. McCarthy aspired to succeed Sir John as Premier. It is not possible to say how much truth there was in these surmises, but it is known that a cabal was active within the secret councils of the party in pressing for the removal of Mr. Fleming from his post as Chief Engineer. What transpired in those private discussions in the caucus cannot be related, but it is known that the Minister of Railways was to some extent the occasion of this move on the part of Conservative members to have a house-cleaning in connection with Railway construction. Imputations were freely made upon the honour of the Chief Engineer, but Sir Charles Tupper, with all the energy and force he possessed, fought against the cabal, which had its chief strength among Ontario members. He was somewhat weakened in his efforts by the suggestion freely made of former intimate relations between himself and Mr. Fleming. At last a crisis came. Sir John who had rare tact in delaying unpleasant action, and in quieting awkward clamours within the party councils, found that matters had reached a stage when some action was imperative. Either Mr. Fleming must go, or the Minister of Railways. When this was the alternative, Mr. Fleming's course was clear. He could not with decency allow a minister of such importance as Sir Charles to be sacrificed, and he resigned. This quieted matters for a time, but for a time only.

The Opposition press was full of imputations against Sir Charles Tupper's personal honour, especially in relation to Andrew Onderdonk, a wealthy American contractor. This attack arose over the letting of the contract for the building of the section of the Canadian Pacific Railway in British Columbia between Port Moody and Emory Bar. Fourteen contracting firms tendered for the construction of this part of the line; their tenders varied from $2,227,000 to $3,531,832. The lowest tender was that of Messrs. McDonald and Christie. But the contract was awarded by the Minister of Railways and Canals to Andrew Onderdonk, whose price was higher by $209,255. Sir Charles excused his action on the grounds that the deposit cheque ($20,000) of the lowest tenderers was irregular and that to have accepted it would have rendered abortive the whole system of deposits. It is true the cheque had been stamped: "Good for two days only." But when Sir Charles awarded the contract to Onderdonk he had in his hands the following telegram from the General Manager of the Bank of Montreal: "Please strike out 'For two days only' from our acceptance stamp. The cheque will be good until paid."

No one can say whether there was or was not foundation for the insinuations arising out of the letting of this contract. No investigation was held; no proof of corruption submitted; and no fact brought to light reflecting upon the honour of the Minister, whose conduct was warmly defended by the Government press, and who was sustained in the matter of the Onderdonk contract by a vote of 125 to 55. The Opposition in the Commons made no specific charges, which, had they been made, probably would have done Sir Charles a real service. But these common rumours caused further intrigue in the secret councils of the Conservative party. Mr. McCarthy had been re-elected in 1882 and there were some who professed to see his hand in these efforts from within to injure the standing and position of the strongest man in the Cabinet. Sir John Macdonald gave no countenance or aid to those cabals. He was satisfied of Tupper's good faith and also well assured that he was the most useful man in his Cabinet. But such a feeling developed that Sir John became convinced that harmony would be best secured by the retirement of Tupper from the Cabinet. Galt had just retired from the High Commissionership in London, and if Sir Charles Tupper could be induced to accept this post, Sir John was disposed to think that a troublesome situation would be cleared up, and harmony restored within the Government's ranks.

And such a solution of the internal difficulty was in another way exactly in accordance with the public interests. No feature of Canadian administration called for more energetic action than the relations with the Home Government. Since that day there have been important developments within the British Empire. The self-governing Dominions have compelled the respectful interest of the Imperial authorities and an eager desire to consult them upon all large Imperial questions. The Secretary of State for the Colonies has been obliged by necessity to discriminate between the supervision of the autonomous Commonwealths, which have grown to importance, and the paternal management of Crown colonies. At this time all were to some extent included in the same category, and it was difficult to obtain anything from Downing Street beyond a languid interest and perfunctory action. Sir John Macdonald had pride in Canada and desired that it should virtually attain a national status, and he regarded it as of supreme importance that a strong man should be stationed in London, who would see that Canadian interests were duly regarded. Sir Charles Tupper was in his judgment *par excellence* the man for this place.

It is by no means certain that Sir Charles was pleased with the idea of being relegated to the High Commissionership. It is noteworthy that in his *Recollections of Sixty Years in Canada* he dismisses the subject of his appointment with the single sentence: "I went to England in 1883, to fill the position of High Commissioner, the Hon. John Henry Pope being acting minister of Railways and Canals during my absence from the Dominion." The field of action was the arena he preferred, while the whole fibre of his being revolted against yielding to a jealous cabal. But there were reasons which induced him to give Sir John's proposals favourable consideration. Sir John was only sixty-eight and the prospects of the Premiership were dim and hazy. Moreover, he felt assured that he enjoyed Sir John's confidence and that the pressing of this office upon him was not according to the personal wish of his leader.

Sir Charles Tupper's acceptance of the High Commissionership left a large blank in the political life of Canada, but he acted in accordance with true patriotism in accepting this post, and raised it to an importance not contemplated when it was originally created. He infused great vigour into the discharge of duties previously regarded as perfunctory, and was watchful regarding everything which concerned Canada's interests. When the Imperial Government was about to take steps to prevent Canadian cattle being admitted to Great Britain on the ground that disease had been discovered among cattle in some parts of the United States, Sir Charles went straight to Liverpool with British experts, caused several animals selected by the experts to be slaughtered and carefully examined, in which technical investigation his medical education gave him a strong position. So far as it was in human power to establish the unimpeachable freedom of Canadian cattle from all disease, Sir Charles was absolutely triumphant. Not a trace of disease was found in a single animal slaughtered. But this had no effect in staying the determination to place an embargo on Canadian cattle, which have remained ever since under the ban, though the most conclusive evidence has been repeatedly furnished that no disease existed. This leads to the suspicion that other reasons than fear of disease contributed to uphold this policy. It had every appearance of being a prohibitive measure in the interest of British cattle-raisers. This matter has only been referred to as an instance of the personal devotion of Sir Charles in determining that no means should be spared to see that the cattle industry of Canada was given fair play. He literally took off his coat when the expert examinations were made and relaxed no effort, physical or moral, to prevent the cattle of his country from being unjustly aspersed.

He put himself in touch with each department of the Imperial Government in which Canadian interests were concerned. Whatever of quiet indifference or *laissez-de-faire* had marked the attitude of British ministers concerning Canada disappeared before the resolute conduct and clear cut representations of the Canadian High Commissioner. The large self-governing States of Australia and New Zealand had already representatives in London. But Canada was recognized as the most important of Great Britain's overseas possessions, and as the Canadian High Commissioner was naturally the *doyen* of this corps of colonial representatives he sought to give a status to the whole service. His efforts helped materially to bring about a real birth of interest in colonial matters in Great Britian, which has since been advanced by political developments in the United Kingdom. The Colonial Secretary's office was a constant recipient of Sir Charles' personal visits and he contrived to weave Canadian interests into the warp and woof of British policy. It had not fully dawned upon the red-tape officials of Downing Street to what a large and growing degree the interests of the expanding British communities overseas were associated with Imperial concerns; when this began to percolate through the official mind, Downing Street adopted a new attitude towards the colonies, and presently the intelligent classes of Great Britain came to realize how far the interests of their own islands might be involved in securing the support and co-operation of communities bound in a very short time to be rich and powerful, and disposed to be attached to the flag. In helping to bring about this change Sir Charles was a true and rational Imperialist; but he was brought into conflict with men who were, at one time, banded together in a league to promote a project of Imperial Federation, which seemed to him visionary and in some ways most objectionable. While warmly attached to the Empire and anxious to consolidate, under the Crown, the united efforts and attachments of the coming nations evolving from colonies, he always had the sense and grace to recognize that this could only be achieved upon a basis of autonomy and a regard for the pride and national *amour propre*, if this expression may be used, of the young giants oversea. For this reason he soon came into sharp antagonism with the crochets of the Federationists. It was in no small degree through his practical utterances and actions that the Imperial Federation League was dissolved and that other and more rational methods of Empire consolidation were adopted.

Sir Charles was unceasing in his attentions to Canadians visiting London, and took the utmost pains to see that those who were entitled to it received due official recognition. He was, likewise, a constant attendant at public dinners where Canadian interests were likely to be discussed, and made many, and sometimes lengthy, speeches in support of Canadian aspirations and in representing Canadian progress. In time there appeared in some of the London dailies criticism of these protracted observations, which indicated that the zeal for colonial attachment was not sufficient to induce a Londoner to forego his desire for social quiet and his antipathy to serious after-dinner dissertation. But Sir Charles effected his purpose in compelling due consideration of Canadian affairs, and demonstrated the value of the country as a field for investment and a desirable place in which to settle the unemployed surplus population of the British Islands. He did not remain in office sufficiently long to see the realization of his hopes in this latter regard, for the tide of immigration to Canada only began to flow freely at a later period; but often the history of the world has verified the truth of the ancient proverb, "one soweth and another reapeth." That his work in London was appreciated is evidenced by the bestowal on him in 1886 of the Grand Cross of St. Michael and St. George.

If it be true that Mr. D'Alton McCarthy was in any way identified with the efforts made to secure the withdrawal of Sir Charles Tupper from the Canadian political field, events showed that he gained little by his labours. Sir Charles did not at first resign his portfolio and seat in the Cabinet, but he was subjected to so much criticism on account of his "hybrid character of minister and servant of the Crown"[1] that he finally resigned from the Cabinet. The readjustment of the portfolios, therefore, did not take place for more than a year after his appointment as High Commissioner. It was expected in some quarters that Mr. McCarthy would enter the Government as Minister of Justice, but this was not the arrangement that Sir John Macdonald ultimately made. At the time of Sir Charles' retirement, Sir Alexander Campbell was Minister of Justice. He was easily induced to exchange this position for the Postmaster-Generalship, and the Department of Justice fell to Mr. John S. D. (afterwards Sir John) Thompson of Nova Scotia, who left the Supreme Court Bench to accept this portfolio. This caused, it was said at the time, a final breach between Mr. McCarthy and Sir John Macdonald, and led to Mr. McCarthy pursuing a course quite independent of the Conservative party, and designed to injure rather than benefit it. And not only did he fail to secure the Premiership, if he ever aspired to it, but he soon found himself dissociated from all party affiliations, and scarcely an appreciable factor in public life. He always displayed marked ability and had a recognized place in the regard of his peers in professional and political life, but he died with his dreams of political prestige and power unrealized.[1]

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[1] "To avoid breaking his head against the Act providing for the independence of parliament, it was arranged that he should not receive salary for the High Commissionership, but he did consent to accept a residence and a certain sum for expenses."—Collins, J. E.: *Canada under the Administration of Lord Lorne,* p. 296.

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[1] No reliable evidence exists that Mr. McCarthy ever aspired to the Conservative leadership, and, for ought that is definitely known, he may have declined the Department of Justice. All that can be said on the point is that current rumour associated the series of events above narrated with Mr. McCarthy's subsequent attitude towards the administration.

CHAPTER VII

RETURN TO POLITICAL LIFE (1887-1891)

WHATEVER incidents may have led to the retirement of Sir Charles from the Government, Sir John and all his leading friends felt that he was an indispensable factor in a political contest in the Dominion, and, when the general election of 1887 was approaching, an urgent request was sent to him to return to Canada. In this crisis in the history of the Conservative party, it was not so much the actual number of votes that Sir Charles' presence and speeches would influence; as the fact that so strong and resolute a man in the field, sending forth his thunderbolts, would be a moral force inspiring confidence. He would give nerve and ardour to the Conservative combatants. Sir John's appeal was urgent and was couched in terms which Sir Charles could scarcely ignore.

"On the train, 20th December, 1886.

"My dear Tupper,

"I am on my way back to Ottawa after a successful tour in Western Ontario. We have made a very good impression and I think will hold our own in the Province. We have, however, lost nearly the whole Catholic vote by the course of the *Mail*, and this course has had a prejudicial effect, not only in Ontario but throughout the Dominion, and has, therefore, introduced a great element of uncertainty in a good many constituencies.

"In Nova Scotia the outlook is bad, and the only hope of our holding our own there is your immediate return and vigorous action. It may be necessary that you should even return to the Cabinet. McLelan, I know, will gladly make way for you. Now the responsibility on you is very great, for should disaster arise because of your not coming out, the whole blame will be thrown upon you. . . .

"I cannot, in conclusion, too strongly press upon you the absolute necessity of your coming out at once and do not like to contemplate the evil consequences of your declining to do so.

"I shall cable you the time for holding an election the moment it is settled.

"Believe me, Yours faithfully,

"JOHN A. MACDONALD."

This appeal was welcomed by Sir Charles, and he made ready to enter with avidity into a hot political campaign. Sir John conceived that Sir Charles would most effectively aid in the election by becoming a member of the Cabinet and he therefore induced Mr. A. W. McLelan, the Minister of Finance, to retire in Sir Charles' favour and take the Post Office Department. Sir Charles came to Canada at the beginning of 1887 and was sworn into office on January 17th. It was necessary to obtain a constituency. His place as member for Cumberland had been taken in 1884 by Mr. C. J. Townshend. A hint of a prospective judgeship was quite sufficient to secure Townshend's retirement, and Sir Charles returned to his own constituency, which had so long given him its steady and undiminished support. He was opposed by a regular Opposition candidate and by a Prohibitionist as well, but was elected by a large majority. He played a strenuous part in the campaign not only in Nova Scotia, but in other parts of the Dominion. In his own province Sir Charles secured fifteen seats to six won by his opponents. The Government was sustained by a large majority; Mr. Blake, despairing of the future, retired in disgust from the leadership of the Liberal party, and Mr. Wilfrid (afterwards Sir Wilfrid) Laurier was chosen in his place.

A very important public duty was imposed upon Sir Charles soon after his return to the Ministry. International complications had arisen over the enforcement by Canada of the fishery clauses of the Treaty of 1818. In 1865 the United States Government had deliberately terminated the fishery clauses of the Treaty of 1871, which had so happily disposed of the unfortunate causes of friction that were bound to arise under a strict enforcement of the terms of Article I of the Treaty of 1818. At first glance the action of the United States seems incomprehensible. No one was apparently being injured. But the fish-dealers of Gloucester and vicinity, who were at the moment powerful at Washington, wished to be rid of the provision for the free admission of Canadian fish, while the general public resented what they considered the absurdly excessive money award given Canada by the Halifax Arbitration. But this would seem a slender reason for a great nation to disturb amicable relations with an important neighbour and invite incessant friction and trouble. When, however, the treaty was terminated, the Canadian Government naturally put in force the fishery clauses of the Treaty of 1818. American vessels were seized for fishing in Canadian waters and for entering Canadian ports for other purposes than those defined by the treaty. The procuring of bait and supplies and the transhipment of cargo were absolutely prohibited. Those who had been so determined to secure the termination of the Treaty of 1871 had evidently not sufficiently considered the full consequences. They were content to forego the privilege of fishing in Canadian waters, but they did not foresee the inconveniences which would result from their being denied the procuring of bait and supplies and the right to tranship cargo. The seizure of American ships created much excitement in the United States and much violent discussion in

Congress. Retaliatory measures of the most drastic character were submitted and adopted, but the enforcement of these was fortunately left to the discretion of the President, and Mr. Grover Cleveland, who held that high post at this period, wisely abstained from the exercise of his powers.

After a long wrangle the American Secretary of State at last proposed that the whole question of the interpretation of the Treaty of 1818 be submitted to a Joint High Commission. This proposal was at once accepted by the British Government, with the assent of Canada. It was, of course, necessary that Canada should be represented on such a commission, and Sir John Macdonald, who had not altogether agreeable memories of his participation in the negotiation of the Treaty of 1871, preferred not to court a second unpleasant experience, so he offered the post to Sir Charles Tupper. The choice was a good one. Sir Charles possessed exceptional qualifications for such a delicate and important task. The other British Commissioners were Mr. Joseph Chamberlain and Sir Lionel Sackville-West, the British Minister at Washington. The United States was represented by the Secretary of State, Mr. Thomas F. Bayard, Mr. W. L. Putnam of Maine, and Mr. James B. Angell, President of the University of Wisconsin.

Before any formal appointment of representatives was made, Sir Charles left his sessional duties at Ottawa for a short visit to Washington, where he discussed the question in an informal and friendly manner with the Secretary of State and other Washington authorities, paving the way to official action. Soon after his return he received a friendly letter from Mr. Bayard to which he responded promptly. Both letters were couched in a broad and amicable spirit.

The Commissioners met in Washington on November 27th, 1887, and spent many days in negotiation. Sir Charles had at his side as associate counsel Sir John Thompson, Minister of Justice, and Newfoundland interests were represented by Mr. James Winter, Attorney-General of that colony. Sir Charles put forth every effort to secure a measure of reciprocity, but to no purpose. He even went so far as to propose unrestricted reciprocity, or, as he was pleased to state it, "an unrestricted offer of reciprocity"—that is, in effect, that there should be no special articles singled out as in previous negotiations on the subject, but that he was prepared to take up the question from a standpoint of a free discussion of any and all articles. But sentiment at Washington was not favourable to any closer trade relations with Canada, and nothing was achieved in this direction.

The immediate object of the Conference, however, was accomplished by a treaty or convention settling the matters in dispute in relation to the fisheries. It provided that a Commission be appointed to define specifically those parts of the coast of Canada and Newfoundland on which the right remained in the United States to take and cure fish, and those on which they had forever renounced such right. The convention also prescribed that alleged violations of the conditions of the treaty should be tried by the courts of the place where the infringement occurred, subject to full right of appeal. All right of fishing within the three mile limit, in those parts of British North America from which American fisherman were excluded by the Treaty of 1818, was relinquished, but one article provided that whenever the United States should remove the duties from fish, fish-oil, etc., coming from Canada, the fishing vessels of the United States should be accorded full privileges for the purchasing of provisions, transhipment of cargo, shipping of crews, etc. The basis for determining the right to enter bays and inlets was that at every bay, creek, or harbour, not otherwise specially provided for in this treaty, such three marine miles should be measured seaward from a straight line drawn across the bay, creek, or harbour in the part nearest the entrance at the first point where the width did not exceed ten marine miles. Annexed to this convention was a protocol providing for a *modus vivendi* to last for two years, pending the adoption of the terms of the Treaty by the several contracting parties. Under this, special privileges were to be accorded to American fishing vessels in Newfoundland and in Canadian ports and waters. This protocol is about all that now remains of this Convention, for, while Great Britain and Canada accepted the Treaty, the Senate of the United States, actuated as is generally believed by political considerations, refused to ratify it; but in a spirit of conciliation, the Canadian Government has, from year to year, extended the operation of the *modus vivendi*, so that American fishing vessels have continued ever since, by special favour, to enjoy many privileges in Canadian waters which by the Treaty of 1818 they renounced.

Sir Charles regretted bitterly the failure of the Reciprocity negotiations, but his work at Washington was subjected to scarcely any public criticism in Canada. There was a pretty well authenticated story that, after his return, during the session of 1888, at a caucus of the supporters of the Government, some of the members made serious objections to his liberal offers of Reciprocity, claiming that these were inconsistent with the National Policy and not justified by the public opinion of the country. Serious objections were also taken to Sir Charles' determined demand that the Treaty be ratified by the Canadian Parliament. Sir Charles vigorously defended his conduct, declared, as he justly might, that he had given his best energies to the public service and to the interests of the party with which he had been associated for a life time, and that he was perfectly ready, if his acts were not satisfactory to his associates, to retire from the public service. This effectually silenced the malcontents and Sir Charles was amply vindicated by his political associates.

Soon after the conclusion of the session of 1888, Sir Charles resigned his portfolio and returned to his duties as High Commissioner in London (May, 1888). He had performed the service for which he had been summoned to Canada and preferred the work of furthering Canadian interests at the capital of the Empire. While sitting in the House as a Cabinet Minister, he had still retained the office of High Commissioner but did not draw the salary.

On August 24th, 1888, Sir Charles received an official letter from Lord Salisbury, then Prime Minister of Great Britain, informing him that the Queen had been pleased to confer on him the honour of a Baronetcy in token of her appreciation of the good service he had rendered to her and to the Empire at the recent Conference at Washington.

Nothing of special importance in connection with Sir Charles' administration of affairs occurred during the two years following his resumption of the duties of High Commissioner. The most stirring incident was in connection with the Blaine-Bond Convention made secretly at Washington, which, if it had been approved by the Imperial Government, would have been equivalent to the abandonment of British rights in British North American waters. It is not essential to give a history of this transaction, but only such points as bear upon Sir Charles' action.

Dissatisfied with the failure of negotiations in 1888, the idea occurred to Sir William Whiteway, Premier of Newfoundland, that if he could bring about a separate treaty with the United States, it would be in the best interests of the fishermen of Newfoundland. He procured from the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs a letter of introduction for Mr. Robert Bond, a member of the Whiteway Government, to Sir Julian Pauncefote, British Minister at Washington, in which a reference was made to some possible trade arrangements with the American Government. Armed with this letter Mr. Bond went to Washington and soon framed a treaty with Mr. Blaine whereby, in consideration of Newfoundland allowing United States fishermen to procure bait and supplies in Newfoundland ports and the right to tranship cargoes and ship seamen, the United States agreed to admit fish and a number of other articles, the produce of Newfoundland, to the United States market free of duty. This was excellent for Newfoundland but very serious for Canada. Once

Newfoundland had granted full trading privileges to the United States fishing fleet in Newfoundland ports they could snap their fingers at Canada and the provisions of the Treaty of 1818. It deprived all British North America, except Newfoundland, of the lever which the treaty afforded for securing reciprocal privileges with the United States. As the Dominion represented nearly five millions of people and Newfoundland less than two hundred thousand, the extraordinary character of this transaction can be estimated. No intimation had been given to Canada of the negotiations and the Canadian Government obtained the first hint of what was going forward from statements in the American press, which, strange to say, were inspired by the exuberance of Mr. Bond on becoming assured of his success.

Sir John at once cabled to Tupper urging the need of strong representations to the Imperial Government against the ratification of this treaty. When Sir Charles put himself promptly in communication with the Imperial authorities they were pleased then, for the first time, to advise him of a cable message they had received some days previously from Sir Julian Pauncefote informing the Foreign Office of the negotiation of a separate arrangement between Newfoundland and the United States Government relating to the fisheries, and suggesting—very properly—that the Government of Canada should be informed. One would have thought that not an hour would have elapsed before the Canadian Government would have been advised of these vitally important proceedings. Sir Charles immediately addressed to the Secretary of State for the Colonies the following communication:

Victoria Chambers, 17 Victoria St., London,
27th October, 1890.

"My Lord,

"I had the honour to receive at Paris on the 23rd inst., Mr. Bramston's dispatch of the same date, saying: 'I am directed by Lord Knutsford to acquaint you that a telegram dated the 6th inst. has been received from Her Majesty's Minister at Washington by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, of which the following is the purport: 'With reference to your dispatch of the 10th ultimo, introducing Mr. Bond, I have presented that gentleman to Mr. Secretary Blaine, and negotiations are now going on with a view to an independent arrangement between the United States and Newfoundland relating to the fisheries. Before negotiations go further, I would suggest that the Government of Canada might be informed of them, as they might wish to negotiate on the same lines as regards New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.'

"I had previously received a telegram from the Premier of Canada as follows: 'Bond, Whiteway's Minister, now at Washington announced authority from Imperial Government to make separate fishery treaty. Ascertain truth and enter protest. See also *New York Herald* 13th, *Boston Herald* 18th October.'

"I believe I am right in saying that, in reference to the question of the Atlantic North American fisheries, Her Majesty's Government has hitherto invariably recognized the importance of obtaining unity of action so far as was possible on the part of all the colonies interested. In the Treaty of Reciprocity with the United States in 1854, the consent of Newfoundland, as well as of the various provinces of Canada was made necessary to its going into operation; and the same course was followed subsequent to Confederation in reference to Treaties of 1871 and 1888.

"I learn with deep regret that this obviously sound policy has not only been departed from, but that, while Newfoundland has on previous occasions been fully advised as to negotiations that were to be undertaken, Her Majesty's Government have, without any intimation to Canada of what was proposed, authorized, so long ago as the 10th September, Newfoundland to open negotiations for a separate treaty with the United States; and that the first communication to Canada is a suggestion from Sir Julian Pauncefote, not to include Canada in the proposed arrangements, but 'that the Government of Canada might be informed of them as they might wish to negotiate on the same lines as regards New Brunswick and Nova Scotia', i.e. for a treaty independent of the other provinces of Canada.

"I should fail in my duty to the Crown as well as to Canada if I did not promptly assure your Lordship that I feel confident that the difficulties of the vexed question of the British North American Fisheries will be greatly increased by the wide departure that is now proposed from the long established policy that has hitherto prevailed upon this important question.

"I am, etc.,

(Sgd.) CHARLES TUPPER."

"Right Hon. Lord Knutsford, K.C.M.G.,
Secretary of State for the Colonies."

"P.S. Since writing my letter I have received the following telegram from Sir John Macdonald, which I beg to quote for the consideration of Her Majesty's Government: 'Can scarcely believe Newfoundland has received authority from Imperial Government to make separate arrangement regarding fisheries. The relations of all the North American provinces to the United States and to the Empire would be affected. We are not informed of powers given to Bond and desire communication of them. Please represent strongly the fishery and the commercial interests of Canada will be injured by such an arrangement as Bond is currently reported as making, and how disastrous, from the national point of view, it would be for a separate colony to effect an arrangement with the United States more favourable than would be given to the confederated provinces. Our difficulties under the new American tariff are sufficiently great now.'"

This letter was acknowledged by the Secretary of State for the Colonies on November 1st, and assurance given that his representations would receive careful consideration. It would seem, viewed from any rational standpoint, a perfectly self-evident proposition that any such arrangement as that made between Messrs. Blaine and Bond would be instantly and unhesitatingly vetoed. This course was ultimately pursued, but the correspondence reveals doubt and vacillation on the part of the Imperial Government, and one may well wonder what irrevocable mistake might have been made if Canada had been represented in London by a less persistent, vigorous, and resourceful man than Sir Charles Tupper.

Shortly after these stirring incidents, Sir Charles was again the object of the Macedonian cry from Sir John Macdonald and his associates. A general election was determined upon early in 1891. The Liberal party was pressing the issue of unrestricted reciprocity, and it was felt expedient to bring on an election before another session of the House and before any definite assurances were received from the authorities at Washington. Unquestionably, at this period, the sentiment in favour of reciprocity with the United States was very strong in Canada, and with his usual astuteness Sir John Macdonald determined to seem to go to the electors upon the issue of proposed negotiations for reciprocity with the United States, although the statements put forth on the brink of the election, in the light of facts which subsequently developed, were at least disingenuous. What saved the Government in this contest was not confidence in its disposition to achieve reciprocity, but the doubt which arose in many minds as to the goal to which a far-reaching measure of reciprocity with the United States might lead. It was Sir John's appeal to the British sentiments of the country which finally decided the issue and saved the Government.

Although Sir Charles was urged to throw himself into the fray, it was not deemed needful that he should give up his office, enter the Cabinet, or even become a candidate for Parliament. Naturally the criticism was persistently made that it was unseemly that a public official should be an active participant in a purely partizan contest; and, strictly speaking, this was just. But it availed little in the excitement of an election contest, and Sir John Macdonald subsequently accepted for the Government full responsibility for any departure from the usual rule governing public servants.

One of Sir Charles' first steps in this campaign was to publish in the *North American Review* an article entitled "The Wiman Conspiracy Unmasked", in which, in a trenchant attack on Mr. Erastus Wiman, one of the most conspicuous leaders in the reciprocity movement, he professed to have discovered a plot to hand over the Dominion to the United States. He addressed meetings in various parts of Canada, but his principal work was done in Nova Scotia. At a huge gathering in Halifax, though two Ministers were present, he consumed nearly the entire evening. His presence was always a source of inspiration to his party. He did not confine himself to mere spectacular platform efforts, but gave close and minute consideration to every phase of party strategy. The result of the election was a small majority for the Government, but none of the provinces gave better results for the administration than Nova Scotia, where the Opposition was able to secure only five seats.

CHAPTER VIII

AGAIN IN LONDON (1891-1896)

SOON after the election of 1891, Sir Charles returned to London and resumed the duties of High Commissioner. Shortly after his arrival he went to Vienna to represent Canada at a meeting of the International Postal Union. While he was in Vienna there occurred a momentous event in the history of the Conservative party. On June 6th, 1891, there passed away Sir John Macdonald, the unquestioned leader, the supreme arbiter, and the guiding spirit of the Conservative party. A natural successor among his colleagues there was none. The matter had scarcely been considered. No man existed so well qualified for the post as Sir Charles Tupper. Had he been in the Cabinet, or, indeed, in Canada at the time, no other name, probably, would have been mentioned. But Parliament was sitting and delay of any kind was in every way undesirable. Besides, Sir Charles' long residence in London had resulted in throwing his merits and his claims for the supreme honour in the gift of his party somewhat into the background. Then, too, he was not exempt from the fate of all strong men in evoking jealousies and secret dislikes on the part of inferior men.

His son, Charles Hibbert, had become a Minister on his retirement in 1888, and some there were who thought, and even said, that the country was having too much Tupperism in its affairs.[1] It is not absolutely certain that even his son was keen for his return to assume the leadership, since this would probably involve his own retirement from the Ministry. It was even hinted at the time that Mr. C. H. Tupper, though the youngest member of the Cabinet, had himself aspirations for the leadership. In the Cabinet there was one man who, in point of endowments and capacity, could be fairly considered for the Premiership—Sir John Thompson. He had been less than six years in the House of Commons and came from one of the smaller provinces, but his great talents, dignity, and prudent reserve had justly won him both respect and admiration. As it was soon determined, among the few people in whose hands rested the power of deciding, that Sir Charles was not to be sent for, most eyes turned towards Sir John Thompson as the new leader; but Sir John, whose talents were not greater than his modesty, doubted at the moment his own power to secure the adhesion of the party Sir John Macdonald had consolidated by his political genius, and was in grave doubts whether

[1] "It created a great deal of jealousy, and had much to do with the refusal to select Sir Charles Tupper as leader after Sir John A. Macdonald's death." Cartwright, Sir Richard J.: *Reminisences*, p. 288.

a man of his religious faith would be acceptable to all classes in the community. The difficulty was overcome by the selection of Mr. J. J. C. (afterwards Sir John) Abbott, a wealthy and influential member of the Senate and a member of the Cabinet, and he reorganized the Government, choosing his late colleagues as members of his administration. Sir John Thompson led in the Commons and was the Minister most active in the discharge of the routine business of the Government. Not much more than a year later Sir John Abbott resigned on account of ill health, and Sir John Thompson became Premier.

It is impossible to say what Sir Charles Tupper's secret thoughts were at this period of transition. Even a man's own words, in a matter entirely personal, are not always a true index of his real feelings. We have a letter written by him to his son under date of June 4th, 1891, when Sir John Macdonald's condition had become hopeless, and when this was known in London and to Sir Charles himself, who for the moment was at Vienna.

"Vienna, 4th June, 1891.

"My dear son,

"I, as you know, have always felt the deepest personal attachment for our great leader, Sir John Macdonald, but I myself did not know how much I loved him until, on my arrival here last Saturday, I learned that he was struck down by illness. The news was then reassuring and I attended the dinner at the Hoffburg Palace with the Emperor and King at four o'clock, but refused the invitation of the Minister for the theatre that evening and all invitations since. It now seems that there is no hope; how mysterious are the ways of Providence; never in his long and useful life have his invaluable services been so important to Canada and to the Empire, and God alone knows what the consequences to both may be. I received your telegram saying that there was a disposition in certain quarters that Sir John Thompson should succeed him, with great satisfaction and a strong sense of personal relief. You know I told you long ago, and repeated to you when last in Ottawa, that nothing could induce me to accept the position in case the Premiership became vacant. I told you that Sir John looked wearily up from his papers and said to me, 'I wish to God you were in my place,' and that I answered, 'Thank God, I am not.' He afterwards, well knowing my determination, said he thought Thompson, as matters now stood, was the only available man. Of course he had in view the charges which have been made against Langevin and still pending. Had it been otherwise, and had I been in Parliament, I would have given him my support as you well know.

"When this terrible blow came, I naturally dreaded that my old colleagues and the party for whom I have done so much might unite in asking me to take the leadership, and I felt that in that case a serious responsibility would rest upon me. Believing, as I do, that compliance would have involved a material shortening of the few years at the most remaining, you can imagine, my dear son, the relief with which I learned that I was absolved from any such responsibility, and able to assure your dear mother that all danger was past. Your course, my dear son, is to think only of your duty to Canada and that is to give your hearty support to whatever can combine the members of the party in the greatest degree. I need not tell you how glad I would be if our mutual friend Thompson should be the man. His great ability, high legal attainments, forensic powers, and, above all, his personal character, all render his choice one of which our party and country should be proud.

"It was a strange coincidence that about one o'clock on Wednesday night, the 27th ultimo, I concluded my speech in response to a toast at a banquet given to myself by a large number of peers and members of the House of Commons of both parties, by an eulogium upon Sir John Macdonald, when, by a slip of the tongue I used the words, 'And now at the close of this long and useful life—' which I immediately corrected myself by expressing the hope that he would be spared many years to serve his country as he had done in the past. While this prayer, for such it was,

was enthusiastically cheered by the Lord Mayor, the three ex-Secretaries of State for the Colonies of both parties, and many members of the House of Commons, both Liberal and Conservative, my dear friend appears to have been struck by the fatal shaft and our prayer denied. We can only bow with submission, knowing that the blow came from One who doeth all things well. Let us all endeavour to work as untiringly and as unselfishly for the progress and prosperity of our country as Sir John Macdonald has done, and, come what may, we will be consoled, as he has been, with the conviction that we have done our duty.

"It is a source of great satisfaction in this sad hour to feel that through good and evil report I have stood at his side, and in storm and in sunshine have done all in my power to sustain and aid him in the great work to which he has, since first we met, devoted so successfully all his great powers. He has left a bright example for us to follow; let us endeavour to imitate it, so far as we can, and we will deserve well of our country.

"Your loving father,

"CHARLES TUPPER."

This bears the appearance of an honest desire to escape the burdens and responsibilities of office. Sir Charles was then approaching his seventieth birthday and, of course, life did not present the same aspect to him that it bore in his younger days, when he rushed with zest into the struggle for place and power, but those who knew him intimately will, perhaps, while not doubting his sincerity when he penned these words, still adhere to the opinion that it may have been a case of self-delusion. It is difficult to disassociate from any conception of Sir Charles Tupper's character the desire for power, and when it is considered that more than five years later he accepted, without much hesitancy, the position from which he apparently shrank in 1891, and retained the leadership until 1900, there is ground for suspicion as to the deep-seated objections of Sir Charles to assuming the rôle of Prime Minister. The letter does reveal very clearly the complete absence of any petty desire to obtain place, and a manly readiness to accept without demur the decree of Fate.

After the death of Sir John A. Macdonald, Sir Charles continued to do valiant service for Canada, guarding her interests with untiring zeal. It was generally believed at the time that it was in no small degree upon his initiative that steps were taken by the Canadian Government to obtain a commercial treaty with France, under which the facilities for trade between the two countries might be improved. There was need of such action, for the trade statistics revealed the fact that, owing to the adoption of a stringent protective system by France, Canadian products were almost excluded from that country, the imports from France to Canada being nearly ten times greater than the exports from Canada to France. On the 16th of April, 1892, an Order-in-Council was passed by the Canadian Government asking the Imperial Government to appoint Sir Charles Tupper to act in connection with Lord Dufferin, British Ambassador at Paris, for the purpose of opening negotiations with the French Government for a trade treaty, and Lord Dufferin and Sir Charles Tupper were duly accredited to the Government of the French Republic for this purpose. Sir Charles arrived in Paris on this mission on October 27th, 1892. Arrangements had already been made by the British Ambassador for a Conference with the leading men of the French Government. Although Lord Dufferin gave every aid and assistance to Sir Charles Tupper in these protracted negotiations, yet the chief labour naturally devolved upon the Canadian representative, who devoted his earnest and unceasing attention to the tiresome details. He was subject at all times to the will of the Canadian Ministry and took care to report from time to time to the Prime Minister the progress of the negotiations. Nothing could be decided without the approval of Ottawa and the record shows that not infrequently misunderstanding arose, owing to the distance which prevented full and immediate explanations. Sir Charles grappled with these difficulties with consummate skill and patience, and finally secured the signing of the Treaty on the 6th of February, 1893. The details of this Treaty may briefly be given.

Canada agreed:

To abolish the surtax of 30 per cent. on all non-sparkling wines, gauging 50 per cent. alcohol or under,

To remove the surtax on sparkling wines of French origin,

To reduce by one-third the duty on nuts, prunes, and plums imported from France and to make 50 per cent. reduction in the duty on common soap.

France on her part agreed to give the following Canadian products her minimum tariff:

Building timber, staves, wooden ships, canned meats, lobsters, preserved fish, fruits, flooring in pine or soft wood, common furniture and furniture wood, wood pulp, apples and pears, boots and shoes, tanning extracts, freshwater fish, milk—concentrated and pure,—and common paper.

In addition to the express stipulations of the Treaty there was an understanding, embodied in notes exchanged between the contracting parties, that Canada should subsidize a direct steamship service between French and Canadian ports, and that France should reduce the duties on Canadian exports to the French Colonies of St. Pierre and Miquelon to a very low rate.

This treaty was very fair to Canada, although not as comprehensive as many would have desired then, or as was afterwards obtained. But it had a long and troublesome course before its ratification. Grape-growers in Canada, on the one side, and temperance advocates, on the other, objected to the proposed reduced duties on wines. Sir Charles had to contend against both opposition and reproaches from his own Government, which he met with clear and cogent reasoning. The treaty was ratified by the French Parliament and by the Canadian Parliament in 1895, and was brought into operation soon after. Whatever glory belongs to the successful negotiation of a trade treaty with a foreign country is usually dearly bought by the person who has the responsibility of conducting the negotiations, and before this French treaty became an accomplished fact Sir Charles had many trying moments, and many occasions for the exercise of all his patience and prudence.

In December, 1894, after enjoying the distinguished honour of the Premiership for only two years, Sir John Thompson died suddenly in Windsor Castle on the occasion of being sworn in as a Privy Councillor, and his death evoked profound sympathy throughout the Empire. Sir Charles Tupper was foremost in attending to all details made necessary by this tragic event, and Her Majesty's Government placed a battleship at the disposal of the relatives of the deceased statesman for conveying his body to Halifax, where a state funeral was arranged by his colleagues. At this moment a demand arose from many quarters in Canada for Sir Charles Tupper to take the helm, it being felt that there was no member of the Cabinet endowed with his unquestioned capacity for leadership. However, the senior Cabinet Minister, Mr. Mackenzie (afterwards Sir Mackenzie) Bowell, was chosen, but before a year had passed it was generally admitted that both public affairs and party interests were in weak hands. It would have been well for the Conservative party if in his stead Sir Charles Tupper had been summoned, as undoubtedly many unfortunate incidents, fatal in their consequences to the party, would have been avoided. It may be that even Sir Charles' energy and ability would have been unequal to the task of saving the Government. But be this as it may, Sir Mackenzie Bowell's administration was dismally weak and resulted in a bolt from his Government which finds no parallel in the annals of constitutional government within the British Empire.

The supreme question engaging the attention of the administration in 1895 was the Manitoba School question. After protracted litigation, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council decided that the Canadian Government had power to make a remedial order in behalf of the Roman

Catholic minority in Manitoba, and that if this were not complied with by the Provincial authorities, then remedial legislation in furtherance of such order might be passed by the Dominion Parliament. This judgment was known before the close of the session of 1895, and it was known, also, that the Government of Manitoba would decline to comply with the order. There was a strong demand on the part of the Quebec members of the Government that remedial legislation be submitted and adopted before Parliament prorogued. It was not deemed practicable to do this, but a solemn promise was made by the Ministry that if the Manitoba Government had taken no effective steps to remedy the wrongs done to the minority in relation to separate schools the Government would submit a Remedial Bill at the opening of the next session. Even this did not satisfy one of the Quebec Ministers, Mr. A. R. Angers, who resigned and, when pressed, refused to return to office. It was felt by most of Sir Mackenzie Bowell's colleagues that it was a matter of grave importance that some strong man from Quebec should be chosen to fill the vacancy, since the province of Quebec was likely to be the storm centre in the ensuing electoral contest. It was also felt that a Remedial Bill should be prepared and ready for the House as soon as it met.

The whole period of the recess passed and no step was taken to secure either of these objects. The Cabinet vacancy remained unfilled and not a line of the Remedial Bill had been prepared. This, it was alleged, was due entirely to the unaccountable inaction of the Prime Minister.

Meanwhile Sir Charles had been doing valiant service for Canada in Great Britain. Largely through his efforts the Empress Line steamship service was established between Vancouver and the Orient. He began his agitation for this service during his first term as High Commissioner. He urged that as Canada had built the Canadian Pacific Railway without the assistance of the British Government it was entitled to an Imperial subsidy for a mail service across the Pacific. He asked Mr. G. J. Goschen, Chancellor of the Exchequer, "for an annual subsidy of £45,000, pointing out that Canada had agreed to contribute £15,000 a year for the same object." During Sir Charles' absence in Canada in 1887 and 1888 he intrusted this matter to Sir John Rose. Sir John was unsuccessful in his negotiations and Sir Charles, on his return to London, once more took up the question with Mr. Goschen. There were difficulties in the way; and while Mr. Goschen favoured the subsidy he maintained that it would be impossible to get the House of Commons to make the grant. But Sir Charles continued his efforts and as a result the Canadian Pacific Railway received the mail subsidy and, as Sir Charles triumphantly remarked, "the only objections raised were, that the grant was too small, and that a more frequent service should have been provided for."

The High Commissioner of Canada likewise strove energetically to bring about the establishment of an "all-British" Pacific cable and a Fast Atlantic Service. In November, 1895, he went fully into these questions with Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, Secretary of State for the Colonies, and was so far successful as to get that statesman's assurance that Her Majesty's Government would take up the question of the Fast Atlantic Service, and also deal vigorously with the prosecution of the Pacific Cable project. Writing to Sir Mackenzie Bowell on November 19th, Sir Charles was able to say with regard to the cable project: "I think we may all congratulate ourselves on having advanced this matter in such a material degree as I have no doubt will result in promptly securing the establishment of this invaluable line of communication." The Fast Atlantic Service under his guidance made more definite progress, so much so that early in 1896 he arrived in Canada to arrange the details with Sir Mackenzie Bowell. The outcome of his work was that, when leader of the House a few weeks later, he was able to submit a resolution authorizing the Government to subscribe £150,000 annually towards a 20-knot service. The British Government had previously agreed, conditionally, to contribute £75,000 to the same service. This resolution passed and a contract was entered into with the Allans, of Glasgow, but Lord Aberdeen, the Governor-General, withheld his assent, and when the Liberals won office at the general elections in 1896 they refused to ratify the contract.

Parliament met on the 2nd of January, 1896. The Speech from the Throne was delivered and the reply moved and seconded, when suddenly it was announced that several of the strongest members of the Ministry had resigned,—Messrs. Foster, C. H. Tupper, Haggart, Ives, Wood, Dickey, and Montague. They gave as their reason for resigning, in effect, that the Premier had not sufficient force of character to be entrusted with the leadership of the party and the Government. According to the bolters it was impossible to get the Premier to take any decided course of action, and they believed that unless drastic changes were made the Conservative party would come to grief. The announcement of this bolt came suddenly and without a note of warning, and public excitement was raised to fever heat. No one could see the consequences of this extraordinary action. It might result in the downfall of the Ministry, and Mr. Laurier, the leader of the Opposition, took care to be prepared for any responsibilities that might be suddenly cast upon him.

Now occurred one of those singular coincidences which often mark the course of history. Some weeks previously it had been determined by the Cabinet that some action must be taken during the session on the subjects of immigration and transportation, and that direct consultation with the High Commissioner, Sir Charles Tupper, was necessary to an intelligent understanding of the situation. Sir Charles, as we have seen, had advised them that he had induced Mr. Chamberlain to support the Fast Atlantic Steamship service and the Pacific Cable. In consequence the Premier had cabled Sir Charles to come to Ottawa at an early day. Sir Charles sailed at once and arrived in Ottawa a day or two after the bolt. His presence was so timely and of such importance in the solution of the acute difficulties then existing, that it was difficult to make most persons, especially the opponents of the Government, believe that the bolt had not been timed to synchronize with his arrival. As a matter of fact, when Sir Mackenzie Bowell cabled neither he nor any member of his Government had the faintest forebodings of any such political *émeute*; nor, when the crisis came, and these gentlemen took the responsibility of resigning, did they stop to take account of the possible early arrival of Sir Charles Tupper. If they had had his coming in mind when they resolved on the drastic course adopted, they would surely have been more likely to have awaited his arrival in the hope that he might have been able to find a solution of the difficulty without making a damaging public avowal of the dissension in the Cabinet. The truth is that Sir Charles Tupper was not thought of in the premises.

But Tupper's arrival was a veritable godsend. Owing to his great prestige and his strong character, it was easy for him to become the confidant of both sections of the party. He could frankly discuss the critical situation with Sir Mackenzie Bowell, and then with equal frankness with his son and with Mr. George E. (afterwards Sir George) Foster. He was able to play the rôle of mediator, enjoying the respect and confidence of all. He was in a position to point out the grave consequences which might result from a permanent cleavage, and the supreme need of a spirit of conciliation. Sir Mackenzie Bowell was considerably shaken in his self-confidence by the serious position in which he found himself, and ready to listen to a proposition to hand over to Sir Charles Tupper the responsibility of adjusting the differences and obtaining a working basis, all of which involved real leadership. The bolters were only too anxious to accept Sir Charles' leadership, and as a consequence, a truce was called, the bolters returning to the fold under the condition that the actual leadership should be vested in him at the close of the session. This involved Tupper's entry into the Cabinet, taking the department of Secretary of State, his son retiring to make a place for him. Sir Mackenzie Bowell's *amour propre* was saved by the retention of the Premiership until the end of the session, but it is not probable that the Cabinet was altogether a happy family after the return of the recalcitrants to the fold. However, as the Premier was soon to disappear, the temporary ills were borne with the patience which the instinct of self-preservation evokes.

It was mid-winter, but a seat must be obtained for Sir Charles. Mr. MacKeen of Cape Breton made way, but Sir Charles was not to have an easy road to Parliament. Mr. George H. Murray, a strong candidate, was put into the field by the Liberals, and a hot election contest ensued. Sir Charles was seventy-five years of age, Cape Breton was a large county and winter in full rigour. Yet he faced the situation without a murmur, and visited every part of the county, addressing meetings, large and small. He spent election day at the house of a personal friend in Sydney Mines, and when the polls were closing he went to the central committee rooms to receive the returns. Friends offered to do the figuring as the returns came in, but Sir Charles said that he had always done this himself and would do it now. First came the returns from Sydney Mines, which gave Mr. Murray an unexpectedly large majority; then North Sydney, which also went strongly in favour of his opponent, and then

Boulardarie, which gave returns vastly less favourable than at the previous general election. These were depressing and disconcerting results and foreboded defeat. Sir Charles laid down his pencil and threw himself upon a lounge, looking anxious and worried. In ten or fifteen minutes the returns showed that he had been handsomely elected and the barometer went up rapidly, but Sir Charles and his friends had had a few unpleasant minutes.

Almost immediately after his election Sir Charles returned to the Capital and after taking the oath and being introduced as a Member, assumed the leadership of the House of Commons (Sir Mackenzie Bowell being in the Senate), and the business of the session, which had been in some suspense pending his arrival, proceeded. A Remedial Bill had been already introduced by Mr. Dickey, Minister of Justice, and the most pressing matter was to secure the adoption of the Bill before the 24th of April, when Parliament would expire by the efflux of time. The limited time during which legislation could be put through was an invitation to obstruction, even if other strong inducements had been wanting, and Sir Charles had not only to face the Opposition but a number of those who had been most devoted adherents of his party. Mr. D'Alton McCarthy and Mr. Clarke Wallace were in the forefront of the fight against what was called coercion, and consumed more time than any of the regular opponents of the Government.

It seemed, and will ever seem, strange to many, even to men not unfriendly to Sir Charles, that he should have expended so much energy in trying to secure legislation the purpose of which was to tie the hands of a young and progressive province which had determined that its best interests were bound up in the system of free, non-sectarian public schools. The reader will not need to be reminded that one of the most admirable acts of Sir Charles' early political life was the creation of just such a system of schools in his own province; nor is it necessary to recall the heroic struggle he made, at great peril to his political fortunes, to resist all efforts of the large and influential body of Roman Catholics, led by their able Archbishop, to graft on the public school system of Nova Scotia a species of sectarianism. Now, after more than thirty years, he is found straining every energy to fasten upon Manitoba the very evils he was so resolute in resisting in Nova Scotia.

There is only one answer to this. No intelligent person imagines that Sir Charles Tupper's heart was in this work. He did not in his own mind wish to force sectarianism upon Manitoba, but he found himself in a position which made such a line of action unavoidable. The Government had promised remedial legislation to the religious minority in Manitoba. To have refused it, would have been a gross breach of faith. The die was cast before he had arrived upon the scene. While the judgment of the Privy Council did not, strictly speaking, impose upon the Government any action, yet the fact that the power to introduce remedial legislation had been unequivocally established, was almost equivalent to a command to do something.[1] The administration had made every effort to induce the Manitoba Government to accept a compromise, but without success. There was no disposition on the part of Mr. Greenway, the Premier of Manitoba, to lighten the difficulties of the Government. A Remedial Bill therefore, right or wrong morally, was a political necessity, and it would have been madness, after the Government had put its hand to the plough, if it had seemed insincere or lacking in earnestness. It

[1] "The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in England declared that the rights of the French Catholics had been interfered with, and that it now devolved upon the Parliament of Canada to restore them." —Tupper, Sir Charles: *Recollections of Sixty Years in Canada*, p. 304.

"While the Judicial Committee [of the Privy Council] declined to give explicit direction to the federal authority, they closed their judgment with these pregnant sentences: 'It is certainly not essential that the statutes repealed by the Act of 1890 should be re-enacted, or that the precise provisions of these statutes should again be made law. The system of education embodied in the Act of 1890 no doubt commends itself to, and adequately supplies the wants of, the great majority of the inhabitants of the province. All legitimate ground of complaint would be removed if that system were supplemented by provisions which would remove the grievances upon which the appeal is founded, and were modified so far as might be necessary to give effect to these provisions.'"—Willison, Sir John S.: *Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the Liberal Party*, p. 206.

was necessary to carry the Bill if possible; if not possible, then to make a show of straining every nerve to ensure its being carried. This is just what Sir Charles did. He met obstruction by corresponding determination, and kept the House in session without adjournment from Monday afternoon until the following Saturday night. But no real progress was made, and the Government was finally compelled to abandon for the time the hope of passing its remedial measure.

CHAPTER IX

LEADER OF THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY
(1896-1901)

AT the close of the session, in accordance with his agreement with the other members of the Government, Sir Mackenzie Bowell retired from the Premiership (27th April, 1896). Sir Charles Tupper became leader in his stead, and addressed himself to the task of creating a strong administration. He made no changes in the Cabinet representation from Ontario and the Maritime Provinces, but he found it necessary to act otherwise with Quebec and the West. Quebec being the storm centre, Sir Charles made special efforts to get as ministers the most representative Conservatives from that province. His best card would have been Sir Joseph Adolphe Chapleau, but Chapleau was then Lieutenant-Governor, and it was generally believed that he was not wholly in sympathy with his former political associates. There is excellent reason for thinking that Chapleau was playing his own game with Mr. Israel Tarte, who at this time was Mr. Laurier's right hand man in Quebec. Mr. W. B. Ives, who represented the English section, was an able man and was of course retained. Mr. A. R. Angers, who had retired a year before, and enjoyed in a large measure the confidence of the extremists in Quebec, was taken in as a token to the Quebec *Bleus* that Sir Charles was friendly. Mr. A. Desjardins had been appointed to the Cabinet as representing Quebec when matters had been patched up in January, and he also was retained. Sir Adolphe Caron was the other French representative. He was not intrinsically a man of much weight, but he was descended from a good family and exhibited in conspicuous form the attributes of a patrician. His value did not appeal to Sir Charles, who summarily disposed of him, giving the Hon. L. O. Taillon his portfolio. This may have been a tactical blunder,[1] and it is a singular coincidence that Messrs. Angers, Desjardins, and Taillon were all defeated at the following election, while the discarded Sir Adolphe survived to stand by Sir Charles' side during the ensuing four years in opposition. Sir Charles made another important change. Mr. T. M. Daly was the Cabinet minister from Manitoba, representing the West, but Sir Charles, seeking to appeal to the imagination of the Liberal-Conservative party, already lamenting the loss of the power and prestige of Sir John Macdonald, conceived the idea that it would stir the Conservative blood if he should admit to his councils the only son of the man who for many years had kept together a united following. So Mr. Hugh John Macdonald was suddenly elevated to Cabinet rank and was made to tour the country in company with Sir Charles. This may have been a stroke of genius, but it never wore that aspect. Mr. Macdonald's speeches were generally characterized by lamentable weakness in tone and flavour, and their influence did much to minimize any prestige which might have been associated with his name and person.

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[1] "He committed a grave mistake when he discarded Sir Adolphe Caron. Whatever might be said against Sir Adolphe Caron (and there were many things) he was a vigorous fighter, and about the sole remaining French leader of any note."—Cartwright, Sir Richard J.: *Reminiscences*, p. 354.

Parliament was dissolved on April 23rd, the reorganized Cabinet was announced on April 27th, and the date of the election fixed for June 23rd. The interval between the dissolution and the polling was unusually long, and the country was kept in the turmoil of an exciting election contest for nearly two months. It is usually the aim of an administration to bring on the elections as quickly as possible, thus preventing the opposition from fully developing its strength. On this occasion Sir Charles deemed it necessary to visit all parts of the Dominion. He recognized that the five years which had followed Sir John's death had afforded opportunity for considerable demoralization in the Conservative ranks, and he hoped that the inspiration of his presence would restore unity and confidence. No leader ever exhibited greater energy. With the same courage that he had displayed in his battle for Confederation he began his election campaign in Winnipeg, where sat the Government which had enacted the school legislation that had set the heather on fire. He journeyed from Cape Breton to British Columbia, appealing everywhere with undaunted front to the achievements of the Liberal-Conservative party. But his main effort was put forth in Ontario, where he had to face intensely inimical audiences embittered by the uncompromising attitude of the Roman Catholic prelates and roused to fighting pitch by the work of Mr. Clarke Wallace and Mr. D'Alton McCarthy. In such places as Kingston and Toronto, he had to battle for a hearing. As Sir John Willison has said of his struggle: "No braver man ever led a party into battle, and no more gallant fight was ever made to save a field than his in 1896."[1] His public addresses were confident and inspiring, and with unflagging zeal he attended to the details of the elections in every constituency. If it were possible for the Government to win, no other leader could have contributed in a larger degree to secure this end. But it was not to be. The tide had turned and no human efforts could stay it. The battle was lost in Quebec. In the few last general elections the Conservatives had been dependent for power largely upon the majorities from that Province, but in 1896 the situation was reversed. The

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[1] Willison, Sir John S.: *Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the Liberal Party,* Vol. II. p. 255.

Liberals carried forty-eight seats to seventeen, and the Government was doomed. Apart from the question of Remedial legislation, eighteen years had done their work. The unseemly quarrels and bickerings between the leading men of the Conservative party had brought their inevitable consequences. The guiding hand of Sir John Macdonald removed, the seeds of dissolution began to bear fruit.

The result in Quebec was in a large measure due to Mr. Laurier's personal influence. His efforts and character constituted the most important factor in giving the Liberals victory, but other influences worked to the same end. Mr. Honoré Mercier was the first to break down the barriers to Liberal success in that province. He had neutralized by tact and genius the immense force which the Church in all its ramifications had been able to exert in favour of the Conservative party. The spell had been broken and the French masses were only too eager to assert their independence. Mr. Mercier had also conciliated an influential portion of the clergy and had been able to count upon powerful clerical support for the Liberal cause. The leadership of a noble and eloquent compatriot was the needed complement to Mr. Mercier's efforts. Under that leadership Quebec was won and with it the prize of political power in Canada for many years.

Sir Charles accepted his defeat with philosphical composure, and prepared to resign the seals of office at an early day. This was hastened by an unfortunate disagreement with the Governor-General, Lord Aberdeen. Unquestionably, precedent gave the out-going administration the right to fill existing vacancies in the public service. In the expiring hours of his administration Sir John Macdonald had made Tilley a Lieutenant-Governor and Mr. Hugh Macdonald a Judge. Mr. Mackenzie, after experiencing overwhelming defeat in 1878, filled vacancies on the Bench and other important offices. Sir Charles desired to do the same, but was met with opposition on the part of the Governor-General. There were Senatorships and Judgeships vacant. His Excellency took the ground that although Parliament had not yet met, and had consequently not passed any vote of want of confidence, it was plain that Sir Charles and his Cabinet no longer possessed the confidence of the country, and that under those circumstances he should make no important appointments except those which might be clearly necessary to enable the Queen's Government to be carried on. Sir Charles could not accept these proposals as reasonable or constitutional, and responded in anger. This availed nothing, and only accelerated the termination of his reign. The incident is unfortunate because it really involved nothing of importance. Technically, Sir Charles was in the right; morally, the right was with the Governor-General.

On the 8th of July Sir Charles and his Government resigned and Mr. Wilfrid Laurier was called upon to form an administration. This he promptly did; and it was a strong one from every point of view. But this did not in the slightest daunt Sir Charles, who was, of course, chosen without question to lead the Opposition. His political record strikingly showed that as a leader of the forces of opposition he was unrivalled. He began public life by leading to victory in less than two years a weak and disorganized party in Nova Scotia. His efforts between 1874 and 1878 in destroying the Mackenzie Government were recognized on every hand; he was more active and conspicuous in those stirring days than Sir John himself, nor did he for a moment doubt that he would achieve equally effective results now. He regarded the Conservative defeat of 1896 as the outcome of party mismanagement, and he had no doubt that the capacity to blunder was as effectively present among the Liberal leaders in 1896 as in 1876. Having regard to the great constructive work which the Conservative party had to their credit in the creation of Confederation, the acquisition of the North-West, and the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway, Sir Charles believed that it would only be necessary to await with patience the mistakes of the existing Government, and then to recall to the people the great deeds of the Liberal-Conservative party in order to secure a triumphant return to power.

The drama, however, did not develop along the lines he had mapped out. Sir Wilfrid Laurier exhibited a wonderful capacity of avoiding blunders and a marvellous faculty of appealing to the popular imagination. Sir Charles could scarcely have foreseen that the Government would avoid any revolutionary fiscal legislation, and still less that a wave of phenomenal material prosperity would arrive very soon after the new Government had been formed. He could hardly be expected to anticipate the enormous expansion of trade and the vast increase in the revenues, which produced surpluses as great as the entire revenue of the country in 1867. These large revenues justified liberal expenditures in all parts of the Dominion. Manufacturing industries were flourishing and wealth accumulating. The North-West, which had long been a source of hope, began to realize the fondest dreams, and growth, which had been dishearteningly backward, now became amazingly rapid. The loyalty cry, which had once been an effective political engine in the hands of the Tory party, had been eliminated through the adoption by a Liberal Government of a voluntary British trade preference, and the achievement of an Imperial penny postage on the initiative of the Canadian Postmaster-General, Mr. (afterwards Sir William) Mulock. If anything further in this regard was wanting it was found in the impression created in the heart of the Empire by Sir Wilfrid Laurier's personality and his eloquent speeches. These incidents appear larger after a lapse of time than they did when they were happening.

Sir Charles Tupper pursued a relentless criticism of the Government's fiscal policy, minimized the importance of its postal arrangement, and claimed that the astonishing national progress was due to the wise and patriotic policy inaugurated by the Liberal-Conservative party. He devoted his attention to the party interests in every province of the Dominion, and in the by-elections not a seat was allowed to go uncontested. Naturally, he paid the greatest attention to Quebec, which was clearly the weak spot. In Montreal he formed a strong cabal in association with Mr. (afterwards Sir Hugh) Graham of the *Star*, and by frequent meetings, private as well as public, subtle measures were devised to undermine the power and prestige of Sir Wilfrid in his native province. If such means were always effective in winning elections, then, indeed, might Sir Wilfrid tremble. He was devoting infinitely less pains and time to the task of holding his ground in Quebec than were his enemies in undermining his influence. But electoral contests, under a system of popular government, have often enough revealed the fact that the most valiant and subtle political efforts go for naught, if they have not popular sentiment behind them. Sir Charles, however, was so satisfied with the trains that he had laid that shortly before the elections of 1900, as he was leaving Ottawa one evening for a special trip to Montreal to perfect his secret plans, he remarked to a friend that "Sir Wilfrid will wake up after the elections are over to find himself the most amazed man in Canada at the result in Quebec." He believed every word of it. But it illustrates how easily the wisest of us may be deceived. At the general elections of 1896, the Conservatives carried fifteen seats in Quebec; in 1900 they managed to secure seven. And even this result failed to amaze Sir Wilfrid Laurier!

The fact was that in 1900 fate was against Sir Charles Tupper and his political associates. The stars in their courses were fighting for the Government and the skies shone upon it from every quarter. Sir Charles Tupper put up a magnificent fight. Though in his eightieth year, he rushed from one end of the country to the other, making long speeches every night and attending to the minutiae of the political campaign each day. Good candidates he had, good organizations he had, good literature he had, but good fortune he had not.

While devoting his care to the whole Dominion he stood for Cape Breton with his colleague Mr. McDougall. It was apparently one of the safest seats in Nova Scotia. In 1896 he and his colleague had been returned by a majority of over eight hundred. It is a singular incident that the leading men in the constituency opposed to Sir Charles were indisposed to accomplish his defeat. The political horizon was brightening for the Liberal party in Nova Scotia and the prospects of success in Cape Breton were very much better than in 1896, yet it was felt that Sir Charles should have a place in Parliament, and hence the idea was conceived of making a proposal to him that Mr. McDougall should retire and a candidate to be named by the Liberal party be returned by acclamation. No one seemed at first disposed to take the responsibility of making such a proposition to Sir Charles, as he was known to be an implacable man and never disposed to yield an inch in political warfare. The matter, however, was submitted to him at Ottawa and he gave it his fair and respectful consideration. He did not disguise that he would be glad to avoid the unpleasant details of a contested election, but he could not ask his colleague to retire. It was explained that a satisfactory place could be found for McDougall in one of the large industrial enterprises in Sydney. He then said it would be an indication of weakness if he permitted any advantage to accrue to himself by the loss of a seat, and he could not give the proposition consideration unless the gentleman selected to be his colleague would agree to announce himself as an Independent. The matter went no farther, and as a consequence the Cape Breton seats were actively contested, Messrs. Kendall and Johnstone being the Liberal candidates. Sir Charles was able to devote but a brief period to the campaign in Cape Breton, spending only four days there in all, but neither he nor his friends entertained any serious doubt as to his election. The morning of election day Sir Charles left his constituency to journey to Halifax, where it was most desirable he should be to receive the returns. It is an all-day journey, and when Sir Charles arrived the returns were already coming in and were decidedly unfavourable from all quarters. At last came the tidings that the Liberals had carried both seats in Cape Breton by a majority of over two hundred. Sir Charles had contested thirteen elections, always with success. He was a candidate for the first time in 1855 and elected. Again in 1857, '59, '63, '67, '70, '72, '74, '82, '87, '96, '96 and 1900. Now at the end of a long and brilliant career he had for the first time to face personal defeat. Sir John Macdonald had gone down in 1878 in Kingston; Howe had been twice defeated; Mr. Gladstone had met with reverses in England and so had Disraeli, and therefore, there was nothing unusual in Sir Charles' fate. But it seemed somewhat tragic, coming just when it did and under the special circumstances.

Sir Charles received the results of the election with perfect composure. When he learned that he had suffered personal defeat and that his party was utterly routed he still maintained the best of spirits and gave no sign of either disappointment or vexation. Some bright hopes had vanished, but those who play large parts in the world must expect severe disappointments as well as brilliant triumphs. Sir Charles Tupper had not one grain of funk in his composition. He indulged in no lamentations, no reproaches, no attitude of dejection. He accepted the result instantly and cheerfully, and comprehended in a flash what it meant to him. In a few months he would be eighty years of age. To remain at that advanced period of his life to fight an uphill battle for another five years against a strong government would be preposterous. His determination was instantly formed. He left Halifax for Ottawa the day after the election, and on the way he could not escape the importunities of reporters, who waylaid him at every stage of his journey. Sir Charles was always extremely considerate and obliging in dealing with representatives of the press, but nothing definite came from his lips until he reached Montreal, where he gave out this explicit statement:

"For four years I have worked in season and out of season for the good of the party to the best of my ability. I have shortened my life by privation incident to campaign work. My friends, colleagues in the House, are good enough to say very kind things about me and that work. They are too considerate, but I thank them cordially for their expressions of good will. In the quiet of my home life I will not be an indifferent spectator of public events. I would take the greatest pleasure in seeing the Conservative party, now united to a man, taking its place in the House and before the country, waging its battle by younger men full of vigour, hope, and endurance, and having behind them a good cause, securing for the people of Canada wise legislation, righteous laws, and fair play to all creeds and nationalities. As I step out of public life I am proud to be able to say that I never used, or countenanced the using of, any but one policy in each and all the provinces. I defy any man to say that I have ever reflected upon any nationality or done other than help to cement the bond of union between all races as Canadians, with a common heritage and a common future. God forbid that there should be anything but peace and good-will throughout the Dominion. There is a great future for the Conservative party and its future has not at any time in four years looked as bright as to-day."

A hasty gathering of Sir Charles' leading friends had assembled in the central Conservative committee room at Montreal to greet him. He was warmly received, and, in announcing his retirement, added these words:

"Gentlemen, in all seriousness this relief from public life is a boon, the greatest I have enjoyed for years. Remember my age! The party would not listen to the idea of my resigning. I could not insist upon doing so against their united protests, and I made no great effort to hold Cape Breton, for I felt my duty to my party was to be in the fight to help my supporters rather than to concentrate my efforts upon one seat. I was in the county only four days. I have nothing but what is pleasant to say of the electorate in Cape Breton, and at this moment as I leave the arena my heart goes out to all Canada in the hope that peace and prosperity may abound."

Sir Charles retired from the Conservative leadership in January, 1901, in the eightieth year of his age, and never afterwards took an active part in politics. But it was impossible for a man of his temperament to remain unemployed, and for nearly fifteen years longer his faculties remained keen and he took a prominent part in important business enterprises. During those years he spent part of his time with a son in British Columbia, part with another son in Winnipeg, and the remainder in England.

Although Sir Charles' decision to retire from the field was fixed from the moment the election returns were in, yet he took care to discuss the matter fully with the leading men of the party and, after mature consideration, he addressed a formal communication of his resignation of the leadership to his followers in the Senate and House of Commons. This document is as follows:

"Montreal, January 17th, 1901.

"To the Members of the Conservative party in the Senate and House of Commons:

"Gentlemen;

"I regret that my absence from Canada during the period assigned for the meeting of Parliament will prevent my bidding farewell personally to my old friends and supporters in the House of Commons and in the Senate. I should be ungrateful indeed if I could retire from the leadership of the party you represent and with which I have been identified for forty-five years, without expressing my appreciation of your devotion to its principles and your loyalty and kindness to me personally.

"It must be a source of pride and gratification to you that the party, although defeated, is thoroughly united, and devoted as one man to the patriotic principles that have always characterized it.

"The four or five years spent in opposition have not been an unmixed evil if they have helped to bring about this result. That the Conservatives are in opposition is a matter of little moment compared with the fact that the principles for which they had contended against vigorous opposition are now established on the firm foundation of the approval of practically the whole people of Canada. It is a significant fact that during the very aggressive electoral campaign which has just terminated, while our declarations were criticized and our intentions misrepresented, there was no word of condemnation for the great measures accomplished by the Liberal-Conservative party in the face of the strenuous and sometimes bitter opposition of our political opponents. This, in my judgment, is the crowning vindication of the policy inaugurated and carried out by our great chieftain, Sir John Macdonald, his lieutenants, successors, and supporters.

"The great principles for which they contended as a party are now accepted by Canadians generally, irrespective of party prejudices. Where is the Canadian who would willingly see the great work of Confederation undone? Yet it was completed by the Liberal-Conservative party against the determined opposition of the Liberal party of Canada. The national policy of protection to Canadian industries was carried by the Liberal-Conservative party in the face of an opposition which denounced protection as immoral and ruinous to Canadian interests. All kinds of fiscal nostrums were advocated by our opponents as substitutes for the National Policy, and the opposition was persistently maintained until the opponents of protection attained office. Where is the Canadian statesman who to-day would advocate free trade, unrestricted reciprocity, or commercial union? It may be left to the Canadian people to say to which party is due the credit—to the party who made the policy or to the party who only adopted that policy to save itself from defeat.

"The Canadian Pacific Railway policy of the Liberal-Conservative party was denounced as a visionary project, incapable of accomplishment or of being operated when constructed. Where is the Canadian who will venture to say that the construction of Canada's transcontinental railway was a mistake?

"If there is one policy with which the Liberal-Conservative party has been more constantly identified than another, it is the policy of maintaining British connection. The completion of Confederation, the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and the repudiation of unrestricted reciprocity with the United States were all inspired largely by the determination to maintain at all hazards and all costs Canada's priceless birthright as a part of the British Empire. Even while the Liberal-Conservative party has been in opposition, it has successfully enforced the duty of Canada to aid Great Britain in maintaining the integrity of the Empire. How greatly the status of Canada has improved during the Liberal-Conservative régime is shown in the recognition by the Imperial Government of Canada's right to a potent voice in the negotiation of treaties with foreign powers affecting Canadian interests, and to be represented in International Conferences.

"There remain two important planks in the platform of the Liberal-Conservative party yet to be made effective—the establishment of a fast line of steamships between Canada and the United Kingdom, and the arrangement of a system of reciprocal preferential trade between the mother country and the Dominion. When our party was defeated, the fast line service was an accomplished fact, and the line would have been in operation in May, 1898, had not the Liberal Government by initiating new negotiations caused an indefinite postponing of the project. If I may be permitted a word of advice to the party on retiring it is to continue the work for inter-Imperial preferential trade, involving as it does the strength and unity of the Empire and the rapid development of all its possessions. This is the most important issue now before the people of Canada and in my opinion it will before long become an issue of vital importance to the people of the United Kingdom. That you will continue, as in the past, to work for the best interests of Canada I entertain no doubt.

"The duty of Her Majesty's loyal Opposition is to exercise its vast influence in restraining a tendency to pernicious legislation, and to give a loyal support to proposals of the Government which commend themselves as in the interests of the country, while initiating itself such measures for the commonweal as are neglected by the administration. In organizing, the party will be stimulated by the record of a glorious past and the great possibilities of the future. The Opposition will bring successful leaders to the front, proving that all are united by a patriotic determination to consider only the best interests of the party and the country.

"My feeling toward the people of Canada is one of profound gratitude for the confidence reposed in my political associates and myself for so many years; and I accept with equal readiness the adverse judgment which places our party still in opposition. It may be that I acquiesce in this judgment the more readily as it releases me personally from duties and responsibilities too onerous for my years.

"I can wish my successor in the leadership no better fortune than that he should enjoy the same support and the same unfailing kindness which has always been extended to me. In the confident hope that the future of the Liberal-Conservative party will be worthy of its past history, and that peace, progress, and prosperity may continue to abound throughout every section of Canada,

"I remain,
"Yours faithfully,
"CHARLES TUPPER."

This is a model farewell address. There are no complaints, no whimperings, no vain and ungracious reproaches, no despondency. It contains a just recognition of the achievements of his party and a tone of buoyant confidence in its future. It was generously referred to by that portion of the press which had been politically hostile and elicited many kind words from all classes. No one could fail to recognize the important services Sir Charles had rendered his country or to admire the patriotism and vigour which had characterized his long public career.

CHAPTER X

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS, CLOSING YEARS AND DEATH (1901-1915)

THE final chapter of the life story of Sir Charles Tupper has been reached; but before giving an account of the closing years of this eminent Canadian statesman it is deemed best to pause in the narrative to say something as to his leading personal characteristics. During his whole public life he was intensely in earnest, devoted to politics and giving little attention to literature, save what was necessary for the exposition of practical political problems. It would be far from correct to say that he was devoid of humour; he had a distinct sense of it and could use it at times with telling effect. In social life he was always alive to the humorous side of things, and his thrusts at foibles and inconsistencies, especially those of his opponents, were apt and striking, although often broad. During the nine years he was compelled to confront Howe in the political arena, he was no match in humour and ridicule for that incomparable and versatile personality, but he offset this by a dogged logic and a merciless appeal to fact and argument which were almost as effective with the masses. A few instances of his humour in his encounters with Howe are preserved.

In 1863 when Howe was still Premier of Nova Scotia and also Imperial Fishery Commissioner, a fierce debate was precipitated on the question of the right of Mr. Howe to retain a seat in the House while holding an Imperial office. In the course of the debate Howe facetiously referred to Tupper as a "midwife"—in allusion to his profession. In reply Tupper said: "I flatter myself that I have obtained some celebrity as a gynæcologist, but I will never be satisfied with my laurels until I have succeeded in *delivering* this Assembly of *Her Majesty's Fishery Commissioner.*"

In the campaign of 1863, Tupper, as soon as he had secured his election by acclamation in Cumberland, hastened to Lunenburg county, where Howe was conducting his campaign with fair prospects of election. The two champions met at a great open air meeting at Bridgewater. Tupper spoke first and, as was characteristic of him, drank water very freely in the course of his speech. Howe on rising to reply threw back his coat in the old familiar way and with a beaming face began: "I have just been wondering, sir, what sort of a mill the honourable gentleman is, for I notice he is continually taking in water and letting out wind." When Tupper came to reply, he said, with the greatest earnestness and without the suspicion of a smile: "The honourable gentleman seems to be anxious to know what sort of a mill I am. Well, sir, I *ground* him out of the county of

Cumberland; then I *ground* him out of the county of Hants, and by the time I have *ground* him out of the county of Lunenburg, perhaps he will begin to realize what sort of a mill I am." And his efforts undoubtedly were largely the cause of Mr. Howe's defeat in Lunenburg.

Tupper's chief means of securing the confidence and enthusiasm of his associates were earnestness, directness, courage, and innate force. In his palmy days his personality was most commanding. He was industrious and indefatigable; whoever else reposed, Tupper never rested upon his oars. His friends had faith in his resources, and confidence in his ability to meet at all times any situation which confronted him. He never allowed himself to be cowed or bluffed; he boldly faced every situation and flinched not though hurricanes raged about him. He was sensitive of his dignity and never permitted undue familiarities. Some men attain popularity by being hail-fellow-well-met with all men; Tupper permitted no one to slap him upon the back. His power and position were obtained by sheer force of character. He had no admiring circle of friends to push him along. His progress was compelled by resistless energy. His presence, especially in his earlier days, was a signal to his enemies to keep out of his way, and woe to the man who had been unjustly traducing him when confronted by his leonine face and lowering countenance.

As already briefly indicated, it was for many years the general belief that Tupper had used improper influences to induce Mr. Miller to take his unexpected course in 1866.[1] The anti-Confederate press had reiterated the charge so often that it had come to be an article of faith. At last, goaded by repeated imputations upon his honour, Senator Miller began a libel suit against the *Morning Chronicle* for its specific charges. Sir Charles Tupper was called as a witness. It was known beforehand that he would take the stand, and two eminent lawyers who appeared for the *Morning Chronicle* made careful preparations for his cross-examination, and in the party councils of his foes Tupper's speedy demolition was anticipated. Sir Charles took the stand soon after the opening of the trial and in his evidence thus came straight to the point:

"Neither directly nor indirectly, by promise or inducement of any kind, was Mr. Miller approached by myself or any member of the Government or any one authorized thereto and offered any consideration of any kind to take the step he did, which, so far as I know, was taken freely and voluntarily."

This explicit statement really disposed of the case. One of the counsel began his cross-examination, but, after all the brave anticipations, his courage oozed out and instead of Tupper being torn to pieces by embarrassing questions, the counsel was absolutely meek and suave. Seeing the case hopeless, the owners of the *Morning Chronicle* agreed to retract, and the case ended. While giving his testimony, Sir Charles was receiving telegrams and pencilling answers in the most unconcerned manner. His presence and demeanour did not offer pleasant prospects for a bullying cross-examination. It was much easier to annihilate him behind his back than face to face.

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[1] See *ante* p. 79.

In stature Sir Charles Tupper was rather below medium height. In his younger days he was erect in his carriage and alert in his manner. As he grew older he became stouter, and after seventy a slight stoop in the shoulders was observable, which became accentuated with advancing years. He had a mass of dark hair, and until late in life wore heavy side-whiskers, which were gradually reduced. His face was always serious and at times stern. While in social life he was extremely affable, when engaged in public debate there were no traces of emotion except when an opponent made a slip, and then a smile of satisfaction would relax the immobile face. When compelled to listen to scathing abuse or denunciation, his countenance was absolutely unmoved, nor could the closest observer discover any indications of his feelings; but when his turn came he was prepared to give blow for blow. If confronted when on his feet by hostile demonstrations, his face became fierce, his eyes dark and threatening, but never a suggestion of quailing or compromise. He was prepared to stand to his guns though the universe should collapse and bury all in the general crash. His merits as a debater were found in his excellent memory, which could in a flash recall essential facts; his clearness of thought, his volubility of expression, his quickness of repartee and a kind of dynamic force which carried all before it in an impetuous rush. He had great ingenuity in giving a clever turn to a situation, and a suddenly cited fact, which, on its face, was seemingly against him, was often made to weigh in his favour. When pressed, he was not scrupulous or fastidious in his means of extrication, and, in order to achieve his point, he would sometimes make declarations which suited the moment, but were liable to confront him inconveniently afterwards. His usual method was to secure the immediate triumph and to trust to fate and his wits to meet any possible consequences. He was not infrequently amenable to the charge of rash statements on public occasions. It was this tendency that caused Goldwin Smith to say of him: "A man of extraordinary force and a thunderer of the platform, though the staple of his oratory was purely exaggeration, with a large measure of rather vulgar invective." This has an element of truth in it, but is an extreme and unjust statement. Tupper's best efforts are free from "vulgar invective"; he gave loose reins to passionate utterance only when bayed about with many enemies.

No one can question Sir Charles Tupper's executive ability. Methodical, with clear perceptions and excellent judgment, he could deal offhand with a great mass of detail and scan and weigh the relations of large transactions with rare skill and insight. Whatever department of Government he administered, he was always the moving force. While not disregarding the advice of subordinates, he preferred to determine everything upon his own judgment. He was never a figurehead, dependent upon the ideas and impulses of deputies and subordinates, but the guiding hand in all transactions with which he was concerned. On whatever work he was engaged, he always brought efficiency to bear. He was never careless or slipshod. He sought light from all sources, and applied himself to the mastery of every matter with which he had to deal. Others might drift and trust to Providence or chance; Tupper never. Every one who approached him for the discussion of any matter relating to his department, always found him thoroughly informed and prepared to explain and unfold in the clearest and most precise terms everything bearing on the subject. His statement was clear and his reasons cogent.

In his domestic life he was fortunate and happy.

Lady Tupper was a valuable and devoted helpmate, and her judgment was very often his final authority in many important matters. He was devoted to his children. Two of them died in childhood and are buried in St. John's Cemetery, Three Mile House, Halifax. The eldest, a daughter, married Captain (now General) Cameron and lives in England. His eldest son, James Stewart, who died a few months prior to his father, was long a successful barrister in Winnipeg. His second son, Charles Hibbert, also a barrister, had an extended political career, was knighted for his services in connection with the Behring Sea arbitration, and is now practising his profession in Vancouver. The youngest, William J., practises law in Winnipeg. Sir Charles took great pains in the bringing up and education of these sons, and his bitterest enemy cannot deny the inference which must be drawn from their exceptional devotion to their father. To each of them he has ever been a hero.

From a man as forceful, earnest, and devoted to public duties as Sir Charles Tupper, the sentimental phases of life would not naturally be expected. But the records of the lives of distinguished men from Napoleon down,—men of the greatest ambitions, and striving for the greatest prizes—demonstrate that practical achievements are not incompatible with a highly developed sentimentalism. In the case of Sir Charles Tupper, this certainly did not take the form of poetic dreaming or ebullition of light fancy. So far as is known, he never wrote a line of poetry or left on record a single product of pure imagination. His early rival, Howe, was a poet, whose writings and speeches are adorned with literary embellishment. Not so with Tupper. When he spoke or wrote, his only object was to state facts in a strong and cogent manner in order to convince the judgment of intelligent men.

Trained a Baptist, Sir Charles Tupper never made any formal profession of religion. As he grew older, he drifted into the Episcopal Church, but even there he cannot be classed as a regular member. He was absolutely free from sectarian prejudice and he had regard and respect for all forms of worship. When visiting friends he usually attended service in the church to which they adhered. He never spoke slightingly of any religious faith or any form of worship. He always treated religion as something worthy of respect, indulged in no speculations, and harboured no doubts. His religious views may be summed up in the general statement that he did not profess to understand the profound mysteries of religion or seek to investigate; his mission was to deal with the duties which devolved upon him and to let those whose duty it was to expound religious tenets attend to such matters. He inherited no phase of the zealous missionary spirit of his father, and can only be regarded as a neutral in the religious controversies which prevailed about him. But his life was guided in the main by high ethical ideals. He performed his obligations to society and his family with punctilious exactitude, was loyal to his country and his friends, and maintained a correct attitude in his everyday life. While not a total abstainer, he was extremely moderate in the use of wines, and during his long life no one ever saw him in the slightest degree impaired in body or intellect by the influence of alcohol. He was scrupulous in meeting pecuniary obligations and careful to avoid making engagements he could not fulfil.

Dr. Tupper was not in the Government when the Riel insurrection of 1869 occurred, nor was he in any public way concerned in this stirring incident, the most interesting and important in recent Canadian history. But it chanced that Mr. William McDougall, who was selected as the first Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West, started for Fort Garry in the Autumn of 1869 in order that he might become familiar with the conditions in the new territory and be ready to assume the duties of his office as soon as the proclamation vesting the territories of the Hudson Bay Company in the Canadian Government was issued. It is not necessary to refer in detail to the stirring events resulting from Riel's organized opposition to Mr. McDougall's entry into the country. While it created intense excitement there were but two or three lives lost in the whole affair, which lasted more than nine months. But Riel's Government was for a considerable time a reign of terror, and few persons ventured to enter the Red River district while he was in control. Mr. McDougall took quite a large staff with him, among them Captain Cameron, who was to be at the head of his police department, and who had married the only daughter of Dr. Tupper. Captain Cameron had been arrested, and Mrs. Cameron, whose whole baggage had been seized, was compelled to seek shelter in a log hut some distance from any other dwelling and exposed to attack by Indians. Only sparse news could be obtained and Mrs. Tupper became so anxious about her daughter that she urged her husband to visit the scene of conflict and bring her home.

The Tuppers were at that time living in Halifax, and the prospects of such a mission were not inviting. The distance was great; the means of communication beyond St. Paul, Minnesota, poor; it was midwinter, and the danger of entering the Red River Settlement extremely great.

Dr. Tupper left Halifax for Ottawa, December 3rd, 1869, going by steamer *via* New York. There he met Mr. Donald A. Smith (afterwards Lord Strathcona), who was just starting for Fort Garry at the instance of the Canadian Government with a commission to arrange, if possible, terms with the rebels. Sir John, learning that Tupper was about to make this journey, requested him, if possible, to get to Fort Garry and obtain all possible light on the situation.

Dr. Tupper, Mr. Smith, and Mr. Richard Hardisty, Mr. Smith's brother-in-law, left Ottawa on their hazardous journey on December 13th, going first to St. Paul, which they reached on the 14th, thence to St. Cloud, the terminus of the railway, where they halted on the 17th, then to Fort Abercrombie, the end of the stage line, which they reached on the evening of the 19th. There they procured a team to convey them to Pembina. They met Mr. McDougall and his party on the 21st, about thirty miles beyond Georgetown, and "learned how serious the aspect of affairs had lately become at Red River." They then pushed on to Pembina, enduring much discomfort in the extreme cold and the necessity of camping at night in the open. After they reached Pembina, a small log-house post on the American side of the line, on the 25th, Mr. Smith continued his journey to the Hudson's Bay post two miles distant on the Canadian side, Dr. Tupper remaining at the American post. While there, he gave medical attention to a Miss Cavalier, who was taken seriously ill. The narrative from this on is so interesting that it can be best given from the published statement of Sir Charles himself.

"I wished to go on to Fort Garry with him

[Mr. Smith] but he said that would not do, as all Fort Garry knew the active part I had taken in bringing about Confederation, which had caused all their trouble. I told him I had promised Sir John Macdonald to get into Fort Garry and that I intended to do so. Mr. Smith said he would get them to allow me to go in to see Mr. McTavish, who was very ill, and would let me know as soon as possible.

"Sunday, the 26th, hearing nothing, I asked the American Customs House officer if he would take me to Fort Garry. He said if he could get a pass from Colonel Stutsman, a United States official on intimate terms with Riel, he would. Stutsman said that if he had the power he would not dare to do it, as it would compromise the American Government. When Roulette, the Customs officer, declined to go, I told his father, a drunken old fellow, who had married a full-blooded Sioux squaw, that if he would let his son, a boy of seventeen years of age, take me to Fort Garry, I would pay him whatever he would ask. He said he should go. I went to Cavalier's ostensibly to give directions for the treatment of his daughter during my absence, but really to see Colonel Stutsman, who lived there. He said he was very sorry that he could not do anything to meet my wishes after my kindness. I told him I wished to obtain the things that had been taken from Capt. Cameron, and it was necessary for me to see

Mr. Riel for that purpose. He advised me to call on Father Richot at St. Norbert's and to say that he had recommended me to do so. Fearing the people at Pembina, who were very hostile to the Canadians, would prevent my going to Fort Garry, I hurried away as quickly as possible, being only able to secure a buffalo skin, a bottle of sherry wine, and a loaf of plain bread. When we reached the Hudson's Bay post, the half-breed boy who was driving said: 'If you get the factor here to lend us a toboggan, we would be much safer as, in case of a snow storm, it will run over the snow, while our sleigh would stick.' I said: 'Drive in, I can get anything he has.'

"I then knocked at the door, which to my astonishment was opened by my fellow-traveller, Mr. Smith. I exclaimed: 'It is not possible that you could be here for two days without seeing me, knowing as you do my great anxiety to get to Fort Garry just now and return.' He replied: 'It is at the cost of one's life to go to Fort Garry just now. Riel has seized the fort and has all the arms, ammunition, and whiskey. A man was shot yesterday and it is simply courting death to go there at present.' I replied: 'But why did you not tell me this when you knew of my impatience to hear from you?' He replied: 'I knew you were a very impetuous man and I was afraid you would do something rash.' I said: 'I called here to ask your factor for the loan of a dog carriole. Can I have it?'

He said: 'Of course you can have anything you wish, but for God's sake do not go there just now.' I said I was much obliged, but did not come for advice, and that I would take the dog carriole. We put the horse in the shafts and left our sleigh. A dog carriole is a large canvas shoe on a toboggan, in which the passenger can lie down. The driver stands on an open part behind him. With the sun about one hour high we started for Scratching River, about twelve miles distant, with no house before we reached it. There was about a foot of snow on the prairie and we drove on a beaten track. The sun went down and shortly afterwards the boy pulled up and said: 'We must go back, there is going to be a frost.' The temperature was then 30 degrees below zero. I said: 'What do you mean?' He replied: 'You will soon see.' Within ten minutes we were enveloped in a frozen fog so dense that I could only make out the horse's head. I said: 'The Red River cannot be more than a mile away from here on our right. We will go there and make a fire.' He said: 'I have no matches and no axe.' I replied: 'We must be more than half way to Scratching River and it is as easy to go forward as back. I will walk ahead of the horse and keep the track.' This I did and whenever my foot went into the soft snow on one side or the other, I went to the centre; but after a time I lost the track and we could not find it.

"I confess I was very much alarmed. We could not tell whether we were going east, west, north, or south. We were like a boat on the trackless ocean in a fog without a compass. I thought of walking around the conveyance in a circle until day-break, but the cold was so intense I knew we must perish.

"The upper part of the sky was clear, and suddenly I remembered that when I was eight or nine years old my father took me out one fine night and showed me how to find the north polar star. I soon got hold of the pointers and then the star. I said: 'We are all right, my boy. Turn the horse's head this way and haw or gee as I direct.' I sat in the carriole and kept the horse's head in line with the star. When we had proceeded in this way for some time the boy said: 'Here is a man's track crossing us.' I decided to follow it, and preceded the horse. In about half a mile I struck the Red River, and, following the track, crossed it and went up the other side, where I saw a light. A French half-breed and his wife, neither of whom could speak English, had gone there three months before to get out wood for making cart wheels. He built a log cabin and stable, where he kept his cow and horse. We explained we were lost, and received a warm welcome. His wife fried some deer and made galute before the fire from English flour. The tea and sugar were from England *via* Hudson Bay, and with cream and fresh butter made a delicious supper. As there were neither table nor chairs, she spread a piece of East Indian matting on the floor and served the supper on it. I rolled myself up in the buffalo robe with my feet to the fire and slept soundly.

"The next morning our host put us on the road. We stopped at Clyde's, Scratching River, where we had dinner. The host and his wife were both half-breeds and some of their children were like Indians, while others had light hair, blue eyes, and fair complexion.

"This reminded me of 'Walker on Intermarriage', whose theory was that the reproduction of animals is by halves.

"We reached Rivière Sale at 6 p.m. where I went, as I supposed, to Father Richot's house. It proved to be St. Norbert's Nunnery. Two young ladies, Sister MacGregor and Sister Riel, received me. I told them who I was and that I was on my way to see Mr. Riel and had been advised to consult Father Richot. After consulting with the Lady Superior they said she wished them to inform me that Father Richot would not be at home before morning, and that if I would remain they would make me as comfortable as they could. They gave me a good supper and had the boy and horse taken care of. After further consulting with the Lady Superior they said that she did not know that Father Richot would return to-morrow noon, and that, as my time was valuable, if I would write a letter to Mr. Riel, they would provide a messenger and send it. I thanked them and said I would write a letter. I wrote until the messenger was ready without giving them time for any further consultation. I said it was very absurd to send a letter when I could go myself. I folded up my letter, put on my coat, cap, and gloves, bade the sisters good night with many thanks and drove away. My driver, Theophile Biste, was a French-Canadian who could not speak English. He drove me some nine miles on the east side of the Red River until opposite Fort Garry. He struck three loud blows on the gate, sung out the password, when it was opened by a sentry and we drove in. Biste asked me to remain there until he returned, which he did in a short time, when he asked me to follow him. He then took me from one room to another until I had passed through some three hundred armed men with thick overcoats on and their muskets stacked.

"We then reached the Council chamber and I was admitted. Here was Riel sitting at the head of the table with a dozen wild-looking fellows; among them were Father Richot and Mr. LeMay, from Pembina. Mr. Riel rose and came down to where I was, shook hands with me and asked me my business. I said I was Dr. Tupper, an independent member of the House of Commons, and that I had come to take my daughter back home, but as they had taken Capt. Cameron's horse, wagon, and baggage, I had come to ask him to allow me to take them. He said 'You must have seen Capt. Cameron's servant on the road between here and St. Norbert's, as I sent him with one of my constables to bring the man here who has the horse and wagon.' I said I had never seen Capt. Cameron's servant and would not know him. Riel then said: 'If you will return with the man who brought you here and remain at his house until four o'clock to-morrow I will undertake to say that all the things belonging to your daughter shall be there.' I said: 'You are very kind, but, as I am here, would it not be as well for me to go into the town and see the person who has these things in his possession.' Riel said: 'No, I think I can manage this matter better than you and I only undertake to do so on the conditions stated.' I replied: 'I dare say you are quite right, and I will accept your kind proposal.' We shook hands again and I left the fort and returned to St. Norbert's."

The property of his daughter arrived safely in due time. Dr. Tupper had a long interview with Father Richot, and returned to Pembina on the 30th December. He had fulfilled his engagement to Sir John Macdonald and had obtained considerable light regarding the situation in the North-West; had impressed Father Richot and others with whom he came into contact with the disposition of the Canadian Government to secure all classes of people on the Red River their full civil and religious rights; had secured his daughter's effects and was able to accompany her safely home.

This incident of the visit to Fort Garry is given as a striking illustration of the indomitable courage and persistence of Sir Charles Tupper in all the undertakings of life. His work in the North-West was appreciated by Sir John Macdonald, who, in a letter to the Hon. John Rose, wrote: "He [Tupper] was in the country for about two days and did more good than any one else who has hitherto gone there."

Sir Charles and Lady Tupper celebrated their golden wedding at Ottawa, October 6th, 1896, not long after the resignation of his Government. Both Lady Tupper and himself were the recipients of many congratulations and were presented with many souvenirs of the event. Golden weddings are not very common and they rarely occur in the lives of prominent men. The Conservative members of the Senate presented a beautiful solid gold epergne; Conservative members of the House of Commons presented a solid gold salver; and his Conservative friends in Halifax a handsome silver-gilt epergne. Many other valuable tokens of remembrance and regard came from friends in all parts of Canada; but Sir Charles declined, it was said, any tokens of regard from his Excellency the Governor-General on account of feelings engendered by the incidents of the closing days of his administration, and this is to be regretted.

For some time an impression prevailed that Tupper had become a rich man, and he was persistently denounced by the press opposed to him as a man who had achieved a fortune by his public position. There was really no foundation for such statements. It is not necessary to deny that Sir Charles Tupper was fond of money and money-making. He probably always cherished a desire to possess large means, which place a public man in a much more independent position, and relieve his mind of the haunting anxiety which the welfare of wife and family is bound to create in any well ordered mind. He made brave efforts to accomplish this, but with only partial success. His first successful financial stroke was a share in the profits of valuable coal areas discovered in Cumberland county, from which he acquired about $35,000. It was alleged that he shared in the large profits of Mr. Fleming in the construction of the Pictou Railway, but not a tittle of proof of this has ever been adduced.

He was Minister of Railways during the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway and also while contracts were entered into with Onderdonk and others for the construction, as a government work, of a portion of the line to the Pacific coast. It is reasonably certain that Onderdonk made handsome profits on his contracts. It is equally true that many persons made fortunes in contracting for the Canadian Pacific Railway Company. It was a common belief, industriously propagated by his opponents, that the Minister of Railways received substantial advantages from these large transactions. But again there is an entire absence of proof. His conduct in this regard was never impugned in Parliament, and no one connected with these enterprises has ever hinted that Sir Charles Tupper used his official position for personal gain. He had a right, in common with every citizen, to acquire Canadian Pacific Railway stock or any other stock in the market, and if his faith was rewarded by a rise in value, this cannot be imputed to him as a reproach. The millionaire fiction only lasted a few years and then it became known that the story was untrue. When Sir Charles retired from public life in his eightieth year, he had accumulated by economy and thrift barely enough to enable his wife and himself to enjoy a modest competence. Sir Charles would have ardently desired a larger fortune, but such was not the decree of fate, and he was fortunate that he was not doomed, like many who have devoted their lives to the public service, to pass his declining years in want.

After his retirement, in 1900, Sir Charles lived part of the time in England and part in Canada. He spent a portion of the summer of 1909 in Canada but returned to England in the autumn with the intention of permanently residing there. His physical powers remained seemingly undiminished and a voyage across the ocean presented no difficulties to him; but Lady Tupper's health would not endure this, so he took a residence not far from London called "The Mount," at Bexley Heath, Kent, and at eighty-nine was as active as most men are at sixty. He played golf, entertained friends, wrote public letters, and made visits to London. That in retirement he was not forgotten is shown by the fact that in 1908 he was sworn in as a member of the Imperial Privy Council. There are some advantages to a great statesman dying in harness, as did President Lincoln, President Garfield, Sir John Macdonald, Sir John Thompson, and many others. To have once been great and conspicuous and then to live for many years entirely out of the stream of events and have no part in the stirring incidents going forward in the world has some unpleasant features. The zest of life is under all circumstances found in the field of conflict, and interest fails when the arms are laid down. But even the strenuous Gladstone felt it necessary to retire from political leadership at eighty-five, though he was not permitted to have so long a retirement as Sir Charles Tupper. Life is sweet and we cling to it until the last gasp, and Sir Charles was fortunate in spending his declining years in the enjoyment of health, the respect of the world, and the companionship of admiring friends, and able to command all the comforts of life.

As already stated, Sir Charles devoted some of his remaining days to commercial enterprises, having been appointed President of some corporations, and Director of others. He kept himself fully abreast of all Imperial questions, and not infrequently contributed articles to the press on matters of large interest. When elections were in progress in Canada, his voice was usually heard, and he never disguised his anxious interest in the success of his political friends. From the day Mr. R. L. (afterwards Sir Robert) Borden was appointed to lead the Conservative party he was ever at his side with words of advice and encouragement. He was frankly a partizan, but during the last fifteen years of his public career he indulged less in that aggressive spirit which marked his earlier years. In the later part of his life he tried to discuss public questions in a broad and fair spirit, but he constantly encountered bitterness from his opponents, and his disposition was such that he could not tolerate the aspersion of his motives and character without instant and effective retort. In fight he was fierce and apparently vindictive; but as a matter of fact he was never vindictive. He found it easy to forgive the most violent of his enemies. He was exceedingly true to his friends, but the instances in which he conferred favours upon men who had exhausted every effort to encompass his downfall are too numerous to be detailed. He was upon the whole a chivalrous foe, fighting always in the open, and ready to form an alliance with an opponent without manifesting the slightest sense of the past or any hint of resentment.

His most active interference in the public affairs of Canada, after his retirement from political life, was in 1909, when the Naval Bill was before Parliament. During the session of 1909 a resolution had been adopted by the Canadian House of Commons by unanimous vote, recognizing the obligation of Canada to assume a share of the burdens of the naval defence of the Empire. In the discussion of this question, Mr. Borden, the leader of the Opposition, had distinctly avowed that the only true policy for Canada was the construction of a navy of her own, manned and maintained by the people of Canada. Sir Charles Tupper was actively in sympathy with this policy. Always loyal to British connection, Sir Charles was nevertheless a firm believer in Canadian autonomy. He had greatly offended the more ardent and visionary of the Imperial Federationists by resisting proposals which he thought not only impracticable but inconsistent with the independent action of the self-governing Dominions. With unswerving devotion to the Empire, he conceived that Imperial Union could only be secured in the long run by maintaining the autonomous independent action of each self-governing colony. The solution of Imperial unity is usually regarded from the standpoint of to-day. Wise and far-seeing men look to the future. The growth of Canada is now rapid and the prospects point to continued expansion. In fifty years Canada will not be a comparatively weak community of seven or eight millions of people, but will probably have thirty or forty millions. In less than fifty years more, even these great figures will be doubled. The annual revenue will be many hundreds of millions and Canada will have a recognized status among the nations of the world. Its people will feel the pulsations of national pride without which any great race would be sure to degenerate. A demand for national recognition will come naturally and inevitably. Sir Charles Tupper had a sufficiently wide outlook to discern all this, and to apprehend, as unfortunately few seem able to apprehend, that the only ultimate basis upon which Imperial unity can be hoped for is a sympathetic alliance of great independent states.

It was, indeed, gratifying to him in his later days to see both political parties united in the project of establishing a Canadian navy, and imbued with a sense of national autonomy. No one ever had occasion to doubt the attitude of Sir Wilfrid Laurier on the subject of Canadian autonomy; in England and in Canada he had always clearly and frankly avowed his views on this question; if similar views prevailed in the Conservative party, the future of Canada was assured.

Sir Charles was strengthened in his approval of Mr. Borden's attitude by the latter's very sensible and manly utterances on public occasions in London in the summer of 1909, in which he pointed out to the British people how much more consistent with true national obligations would be the initiative of Canada in providing for her own defence than mere spasmodic contributions to Imperial naval construction, which would mean no personal devotion of the brawn and manhood of the country to large Imperial objects.

But toward autumn, under what inspiration it is not easy to discover, or influenced by what considerations it is impossible to determine, there arose a demand from a portion of the Conservative press for an immediate cash contribution for the building of dreadnoughts, the reason urged being emergent danger of immediate attack by Germany. When the Canadian Parliament assembled in November, 1909, there were clear indications that this demand had assumed such formidable proportions as to force Mr. Borden either to reverse his repeated declarations of policy or to come into acute conflict with a large body of his supporters. At this crucial moment Sir Charles felt it his duty to speak out and give the weight of his authority—once so great—to uphold Mr. Borden in adhering to what he conceived to be the truly patriotic and sound Imperial policy. In consequence, he addressed a letter to

Mr. Borden couched in the following clear terms:

"The Mount, Bexley Heath, Nov. 20, '09.
"My dear Mr. Borden,—

"I have read with much interest the communication of the Canadian Correspondent of *The Times* on naval defence in to-day's issue of that paper. I regard that question as more important than any mere party issue, and am glad to learn that you are resolved to maintain the patriotic attitude the Conservative party assumed last session. A few years ago, when Canada was struggling to open up for British settlement the great granary of the world, a few gentlemen here raised the question of a contribution to the Imperial Navy. I joined issue with them, and was sustained by the press and public opinion. It was admitted that Canada was not only no burden to the Mother Country but that without her harbours and coal mines on the Atlantic and the Pacific coasts England would require a larger navy. Contrast the progress of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand under Imperial management and since it was relinquished, and it will be seen to whom their present importance is due.

"In an evil hour for the British Empire, Cobdenism was allowed to sweep away the protective policy which had made England mistress of the manufactures] of the world and to place all her colonies in the position of foreigners.

"Read the result in *The Times* of October 3rd, 1849:

"'The reversal of the ancient policy of Great Britain, whereby she withdrew from the colonies their wonted protection in her markets, has produced the most disastrous effects upon Canada. In surveying the actual condition of the country what but ruin or rapid decay meets the eye? Our provincial government and civic corporations embarrassed, our banking and other securities greatly depreciated, our mercantile and agricultural interests alike unprosperous . . . with superabundant water-power and cheap labour, especially in Lower Canada, we have yet no domestic manufactures; nor can the most sanguine, unless under altered circumstances, anticipate the home growth or advent from foreign parts, of either capital or enterprise to embark in this great source of national wealth. Our institutions, unhappily, have not that impress of permanence which can alone impart security and inspire confidence, and the Canadian market is too limited to tempt the foreign capitalists. While the adjoining States are covered with a network of thriving railways, Canada possesses but three lines, which together scarcely exceed fifty miles in length, and the stock in two of which is held at a depreciation of from 50 to 80 per cent.—fatal symptom of the terror over-spreading the land.'

"The Confederation of Canada, which has

resulted in such gigantic progress, was the work of Canadians, and was regarded by many English statesmen as a prelude to getting rid of responsibility.

"Regarding as I do British institutions as giving greater security to life, property, and liberty than any other form of government, I have devoted more than half a century to unceasing efforts to preserve the connection of Canada and the Crown. When Great Britain was involved in the struggle in the Transvaal I led the van in forcing the Canadian government to send aid. But I did not believe then, and I do not believe now, in taxation without representation. The demand which will soon be made by some that Canada should contribute to the Imperial Navy in proportion to population I regard as preposterous and dangerous.

"I read with pleasure the resolution passed unanimously by the House of Commons which pledged Parliament to proceed vigorously with the construction of the Canadian navy and to support England in every emergency; and all that is required, in my opinion, is to hold the Government of the day bound to carry that out honestly. Navies are maintained largely to promote the security of the mercantile shipping of the country to which they belong. If you turn to Whitaker's Almanack for 1909, on page 461 you will find the following statement:

"'The naval expenditure of the British Empire on sea-going force in 1906–7 was £31,870,000, of which the United Kingdom contributed £31,438,600. The aggregate gross tonnage of the mercantile marine protected thereby was 16,381,850 (United Kingdom) and 1,229,246 (India and Colonies), total 17,611,096 gross tons, which carries the annual value of nearly £1,500,000,000 (including bullion and specie). The naval expenditure is therefore 2.13 per cent., if regarded as a premium for insurance. Other nations spend as follows (in millions of pounds)—United States, 25.1 to protect 4,241,590 tons of mercantile shipping; Japan, 5.2 for 1,000,000 tons; Russia, 12.4 for 913,133 tons; Germany, 11.4 for 3,810,353 tons; and France, 12.8 for 1,741,195 tons.'

"When I remember that in the general election of 1891 the friends of British institutions, after a desperate struggle which cost that great and patriotic statesman, Sir John A. Macdonald, his life, only secured a majority of about twenty-five, I have no hesitation in saying that had the principle of a contribution to the Imperial Navy according to our population then been in operation that majority of twenty-five would have been in favour of Continental free trade, and the adoption of the tariff of the United States against Great Britain. Who can question the accuracy of that opinion who remembers that in 1896 my Government was fiercely denounced in

Quebec by the Liberal candidates and Liberal newspapers on account of its militia expenditures when they declared that an expenditure of $3,000,000 to buy rifles for the militia was a danger to the country, and that the military programme of the government was 'frightful'?

"I do not forget that all parties in the United States agree in the desire to obtain possession of Canada. Under existing circumstances it was of immense importance to have Sir Wilfrid Laurier and his party committed to the policy which secured the unanimous consent of the House of Commons on a question of such vital importance, and a great responsibility will rest upon those who distort that compact.

"I cannot understand the demand for dreadnoughts in the face of the fact that the Admiralty and British Government determined that it was not the best mode of maintaining the security of the Empire and arranged with Canada and Australia (the latter of whom had offered one or two dreadnoughts) for the construction of local navies to keep open the trade routes in case of war.

"All difficulty as to the question of autonomy is now removed, as it is fully recognized that the great outlying portions of the Empire are sister nations, and means have been adopted to secure uniformity in the naval forces of the Empire in the design and construction of ships, and the training of the officers and men. They are also to be interchangeable and thus secure uniformity in every respect so as to act as effective units with the British Navy.

"Of course the Government of the day will be held accountable for carrying out the policy thus agreed upon in a thoroughly effective manner, but I cannot avoid thinking that a fearful responsibility will rest upon those who disturb or destroy the compact entered into on this vitally important question.

"Yours faithfully,

"CHARLES TUPPER.

"R. L. Borden, Esq., K.C., M.P."

The right of difference of opinion on all such large questions must be freely conceded, but it is also permissible to say that no act in Sir Charles' long and varied career illustrates in a larger degree his wisdom and loyalty, and that events have demonstrated beyond cavil the breadth and soundness of his position. His advice was ignored both by Mr. Borden and the majority of his supporters, and the proposals of the Government for the construction of a Canadian Navy were met by an amendment offered by Mr. Borden proposing a direct money contribution to Great Britain for the construction of two dreadnoughts, and the whole force of the Opposition outside of Quebec thrown in support of this proposition. Of course this policy was rejected by the House and Sir Wilfrid's adopted. No doubt is sought to be cast upon the sincerity and good faith of Mr. Borden and his associates in this action, and it may be assumed that their action was dictated by the best motives. As to the political aspects of the matter the writer is absolutely unconcerned in any way. It is quite possible that Mr. Borden may have interpreted the present or immediate sentiment of the country better than his opponents, but there is an abstract right and wrong in the premises. There must be a final judgment of the Canadian people on the issue, and it only remains to await with patience the verdict of history. There are at all events reasonable chances that Sir Charles Tupper's manly stand will be abundantly vindicated. His attitude was at least disinterested.

Few men in the earlier stages of the history of Canada took a larger part in moulding the policy and developing the great enterprises of the Dominion. Tupper was compelled for a long period to play second fiddle to Sir John Macdonald, and all familiar with the actual conditions of political life understand the enormous prestige which is attached to the mere fact of leadership. The Premier is the man most in the public eye, and all the merits and demerits of an administration are, in the public mind, attributed to him. It is nevertheless a fact that men who have served in a Cabinet under able leaders have often contributed as largely as the Premier himself to fashioning and even determining the policy of an administration. It is not possible to judge with nicety between Sir John Macdonald and Sir Charles Tupper in determining the respective credit due them for the early measures of supreme importance which were inaugurated by the administration of which they were members. It is not necessary to do so. As Premier, Sir John's renown is secure; it is only to repeat what public opinion has almost universally confirmed that Sir Charles Tupper was a scarcely less potent factor in the great events of his time. As Goldwin Smith has said, "he served as the shield-bearer" to Sir John, and "was very useful to his chief, whose apparently lost cause he did much to redeem after the catastrophe of the Pacific Railway Scandal." He was naturally bolder and more aggressive than Sir John, and history will award the highest honour to Tupper in the matter of securing the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. It was his strong faith, sanguine temperament, and indomitable will which in 1880 compelled the solution of this pressing national problem. As a leader of men he lacked the consummate tact and finesse of Sir John; but he surpassed him in plain-dealing and downright earnestness of purpose. Sir John Macdonald held a steadier rein, but Sir Charles had the greater courage and staying power. Both had a large vision which was of vital consequence to Canada, for, whatever their faults and shortcomings, they were associated with the great initial steps which laid the foundations of Canada's greatness. If narrow, timid men had controlled affairs in the critical period of the first North-West Rebellion the great North-West might never have been acquired, the boundaries of the Dominion of Canada would not have embraced half a continent, and its people would not have been able at this moment to look forward to a national status unsurpassed among the communities of the world.

By his strong aggressive character, Sir Charles evoked bitter enmity which men of a more negative type happily escape. But, now that the conflict is over, all will concede without question his claim to a place in the national pantheon as one of the able and eminent men who struggled with ardour and success to make their country great.

Thus, residing at "The Mount", Bexley Heath, Sir Charles Tupper prepared to spend the remainder of his days. But in the spring of 1912 his wife died. He had been married to her for fifty years in 1896, and sixteen years had elapsed since then. She, like her husband, endured until the very latest period in life. He decided that she should be buried in St. John's cemetery, Halifax, and, although he was at this time ninety-one years of age, he crossed the Atlantic with her body, and, in the early summer, her remains were laid to rest with due honours. Sir Charles then went to

Vancouver and stayed for a time with his son, Sir Charles Hibbert, and, returning, stopped for a time at Winnipeg with Stewart. Then he returned home, and spent the rest of his days at Bexley Heath. His daughter, Mrs. Cameron, resided there, and the eldest daughter of Stewart Tupper, who was a great favourite with Sir Charles, lived with him.

As it was known that he was going to England for the last time in his life, as he was then approaching his ninety-second year, it was deemed fitting and desirable that he receive some marks of appreciation from the people in his native province. It was generally supposed that he would pass through Halifax, but it so happened that his steamer would not touch at Halifax, but would sail direct from St. John to England. It therefore became necessary to have the demonstration take place at Amherst, on the line of railway running to St. John. In addition to being his birthplace, Amherst was the shire town in the county of Cumberland which Sir Charles had represented in Parliament for between thirty and forty years, and therefore a most fitting place for such a purpose.

The meeting in Amherst took place on the 28th of April, 1913, and was most impressive. A large representation was sent up from Halifax, and on the morning of the 28th a vast assemblage of people from all parts of the county and province filled the streets. In the afternoon a meeting in his honour was held in the Winter Fair Building, at which Sir Charles, despite his years, delivered an address to the vast audience, in the energetic and forceful manner which always characterized his remarks.

On the following evening an address before the Canadian Club was to be given on D'Arcy McGee by Judge Wallace of Halifax. It had no connection with the meeting or the demonstration, the night was stormy and the idea of Sir Charles Tupper going out to attend this never occurred to anybody, but he insisted upon going and listened with interest to the lecture, and took occasion at the end of it to make some remarks, recalling how he and D'Arcy McGee at the forming of the first Confederation Government had sacrificed themselves and stayed out of the Government for the sake of harmony in its formation.

He sailed from St. John that week, and from that time to the day of his death he made no public appearances; but those from Nova Scotia who visited England in the meantime and called to pay their respects to him, found him as clear in intellect and as sound in memory as he ever was in his life. He had the misfortune to be attacked by pneumonia at this advanced age and everybody supposed that this would be his last illness, but he struggled through it, and came out a winner in the end.

HIS DEATH AND BURIAL

On July 2nd, 1915, he entered upon his ninety-fifth year. Four or five weeks before his death he had a slight illness, from which he recovered, and at last, when he finally expired, it was purely from old age. On October 29th he went to bed as usual and in the morning he was dead, without a tremor or a struggle.

According to his request, arrangements were made to bring his body from England to be interred in St. John's Cemetery, Halifax, beside his wife. When it became known that this course was to be followed a determination to have a public state funeral took possession of the public mind, and the Government of the Dominion, although occupied very gravely with questions of war, appropriated the sum necessary to pay fitting honour to the dead statesman. The body came out in a steamer landing at Quebec, and from there was brought to Halifax. It arrived on the morning of Monday, the 15th of November, and was laid in state in the Legislative Council Chamber. On Tuesday the body was removed to St. Paul's Church, and at two o'clock the funeral took place. An impressive oration was delivered by his Grace, Archbishop Worrell of Halifax, and Cabinet Ministers, members of the Senate, Judges of the Supreme Court, members of the House of Commons, members of the Provincial Government and House of Assembly, and representatives of every walk in life joined in paying tribute to the memory of Nova

Scotia's "Grand Old Man". He had been for more than fifteen years out of public life, and, in the rush of events, it might be expected that he would be forgotten, but there was never the slightest possibility of oblivion overtaking Sir Charles Tupper. Anything that happened to him during the many years he was out of public life was quickly chronicled, and the contemplation of the many important matters with which his name is associated will prevent him from ever being forgotten. He first came into prominence as the author of the Free School system of Nova Scotia, and he had been identified for so many years with everything of first importance in the Dominion, that this public memorial seemed as fitting and necessary as if he had at that moment passed from the position of Prime Minister of the country.

James Stewart Tupper, the eldest son of Sir Charles, died, as we have seen, some months before his father, and the baronetcy was inherited by Mr. Charles Stewart Tupper, his eldest surviving son who is now (1916) taking part in the defence of the great Empire which his grandfather served with such loyalty and distinction.

The old man has departed, the last man on the list of the Fathers of Confederation, one of the greatest and strongest men of his time, whose labours for forty-five or fifty years were unsurpassed by any man in Canada, who had a personality which will not be forgotten.

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Much valuable information on the life and times of Sir Charles Tupper can be garnered from Vols. VI, VII, VIII, XIII, and XIV of *Canada and Its Provinces*, edited by Drs. Adam Shortt and A. G. Doughty. In studying the life of Tupper it would be well to consult the volumes in the "Makers of Canada," First Series, dealing with Cartier, Macdonald, Brown, Tilley, and Howe. The life of Howe will be found to be so interwoven with the life of Tupper during the first twenty years of the latter's political career, that the one cannot be properly understood without a knowledge of the other.

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